

COLLECTIONS

Vol. 6
OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR M,DCC,XCIX.

Vol. 6



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1800.

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Printed by Samuel Hill, No. 25 Cornhill Boston.
1860.

IT is a duty which the Historical Society owe to their institution, to their own feelings, and to their country, to preserve, in their publications, some memorial of their associates, as they descend to the grave; especially of those, who have been distinguished in the literary world. With tender recollections of two valuable members, whose death will long be deplored, they have appropriated a part of their *Collections* to a sketch of their lives and characters, persuaded that nothing, which tends to honour and perpetuate the memories of a CLARKE and a BELKNAP, can be uninteresting to any of the readers of these papers.

SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late Rev. Dr. CLARKE.*

"JOHN CLARKE, D.D. Pastor of the first church in Boston, was born at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, April 13, 1755; graduated at Harvard College in 1774; and ordained July 8, 1778, as colleague with the late Dr. Chauncy, with whom he lived in the most intimate and respectful friendship about nine years; and afterwards continued, assiduously and faithfully labouring in the service of the church, until the Lord's day, April 1, 1798; when, in the midst of his afternoon sermon, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, fell down in the pulpit, and expired in less than twelve hours; having almost completed the 43d year of his age, and the 20th year of his ministry.

Descended

* Supposed to have been written by the Rev. Dr. BELKNAP, and published in the *Columbian Centinel*, April 7, 1798.

Descended from respectable parents, who live to lament an only son, he discovered in early life the signs of genius and industry. At the University, he was distinguished by a close attention to classic and philosophic studies, by a strict obedience to the laws, and by irreproachable morals. In the office of Preceptor, he was gentle and persuasive, beloved by his pupils, and esteemed by their friends. As a public preacher, his compositions bore the marks of penetration, judgment, perspicuity and elegance. Faithful to the interest of religion, he deeply examined its foundation and evidence; and persuaded of the truth and importance of the christian system, he recommended, by his public discourses and private conversation, its sublime doctrines, its wise institutions, and its salutary precepts.

Though fond of polite literature and philosophic researches, yet he considered theology as the proper science of a Gospel Minister. To this object he principally devoted his time and studies, and was earnestly desirous of investigating every branch of it, not merely to gratify his own sacred curiosity, but that he might impart to his hearers the whole counsel of God. He was habitually a close student; and it is not improbable, that the intenseness of his mental application proved too severe for the delicate fabric of his nerves.

His devotional addresses were copious and fervent; and his intercessions strong and affectionate; discovering at once the ardor of his piety, and the warmth of his benevolence. In the private offices of pastoral friendship, he was truly exemplary and engaging. His temper was mild and cheerful, his manners easy and polite; and the social virtues of an honest heart gave a glow to his language, and enlivened every circle in which he was conversant.

In the relations of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a guardian, a correspondent, a master, a friend, and a member of several literary and charitable societies,* his deportment

* Dr. CLARKE was a Counsellor of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Corresponding Secretary of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and one of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

ment was marked with affection, fidelity and carefulness. He was concerned for the interest, reputation, and happiness of all his connexions; and zealously devoted to the cause of science and humanity.

Being successor to ten eminent luminaries of the church of God, he was studious to emulate them in piety, learning and usefulness. Like three of them, he was suddenly called off from his ministerial labours, and having happily escaped the painful agonies of a lingering death, is gone to receive the reward of a faithful servant, and enter into the joy of his Lord.

The names of his predecessors, the order of their succession, and their ages (as far as they are known) are as follow:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| A. D. 1632 | John Wilson, 1667, <i>Æt.</i> 79. |
| 1633 | John Cotton, 1656, <i>Æt.</i> 68. |
| 1656 | John Norton, 1663, <i>Æt.</i> 57. |
| 1668 | { John Davenport, 1679, <i>Æt.</i> 72, |
| | { James Allen, 1710, <i>Æt.</i> 78. |
| 1670 | John Oxenbridge, 1674, <i>Æt.</i> 66. |
| 1696 | Benjamin Wadsworth, removed to the Presidency of Harvard College, 1725, and died 1737, <i>Æt.</i> 68. |
| 1705 | Thomas Bridge, 1715, <i>Æt.</i> 58. |
| 1717 | Thomas Foxcroft, 1769, <i>Æt.</i> 73. |
| 1727 | Charles Chauncy, D.D. 1787, <i>Æt.</i> 83. |

Besides two assistant ministers, viz.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1684 | Joshua Moody, returned to Portsmouth, 1692. |
| 1693 | John Bailey, 1697, <i>Æt.</i> 54. |

Mr. Norton died very suddenly on the Lord's-day, as he was preparing for the afternoon exercise. Mr. Oxenbridge fell down in the pulpit, with an apoplexy, and died in four days. Mr. Foxcroft was seized with the same disorder on a Saturday, and died the next day.

Dr. CLARKE's printed works are, four Sermons—one on the death of Dr. Cooper, one on the death of Dr. Chauncy, one

one on the death of Dr. N. W. Appleton, and one before the Humane Society: An Answer to the question, Why are you a Christian? (which has had three editions in Boston, and three in England); and Letters to a Student at the University of Cambridge."

A volume of Dr. Clarke's Sermons has been published since his decease. It is a selection that does honour to his memory; and will be cherished by the christian and the scholar, as exhibiting, in elegant and very impressive language, the pure and pious sentiments of one of the best of men.

His remains were entombed, on the Friday after his decease, with every mark of esteem and affection. A sermon was preached at his interment by the Reverend PETER THACHER, D. D.

On the Lord's-day after the decease of Dr. CLARKE, a Discourse was delivered to his bereaved Flock, by the Rev. Dr. WILLARD, President of the University in Cambridge, from which the following character of the deceased is selected.

"BEING a Tutor at the University when he became a member, and the class to which he belonged being committed to my particular care, I had an early opportunity of knowing his character, and I was soon led to distinguish in him that genius and application to study, together with that amiable disposition and excellent spirit, which have ever since conspicuously shone in him. For two years and a quarter I continued with the class, and during that time his improvements in literature and science were very observable; and his conduct was so uniformly good, in every respect, that he never merited or received a censure, or a frown from any one, who had the care and instruction of the youth; and I found by information, after my leaving the class and the University, that he maintained the same character, through the whole of his Collegiate course. And, perhaps, there never was a student, who passed through the University and went into the world with a fairer reputation, and few with more solid and useful acquirements.

For

For some time after Mr. CLARKE left the University, he was engaged in the instruction of youth, in which employment he was highly esteemed and beloved. But whatever his pursuits were, he did not suffer his mind to be diverted from the great object he had in view, which was to fit for the sacred desk. While he was faithful in performing the business he undertook, he devoted his leisure hours to accomplish himself for that profession, which lay nearest his heart; and he pursued his theological studies with great assiduity, so that when he *first entered* the desk it was not with a superficial knowledge. His natural abilities and literary acquirements were such as enabled him to search the Sacred Oracles with accuracy, especially the Original of the New-Testament, and to attend to every subject in Divinity with judgment. And such was the candor and fairness of his mind, that few men, perhaps, have been more free from prejudices in their researches: He therefore became a Scribe well instructed in the Gospel System.

His discourses early discovered an elegant taste in composition; a correctness, propriety and pertinence in thought, and that strain of seriousness and piety, which could not but be attractive. You, my Brethren, soon heard of his worth; and when you employed him as a Candidate for the Ministry among you, your expectations from him were not disappointed; nay, it will not be beyond the truth to say, that they were more than answered. After preaching with you a competent time, he was ordained over you as a Colleague Pastor with the venerable, learned and valuable Doctor CHAUNCEY, with whom he served as a Son with a Father; and between them there ever existed the most happy harmony, till the day of the Doctor's death.

Having obtained a settlement, he did not grow remiss about future improvements, but continued the same assiduity, which had been a distinguished trait in his character. To the liberal Arts and Sciences, for which he had a true relish, and in which he was no *common* proficient, he, at times, paid attention. But these he considered as nothing more than handmaids to Divinity, and of but secondary consideration. Divinity was his profession, and to this he directly applied a principal part of his time. He had devoted himself to the cause of God and the Redeemer, and he would not suffer

suffer other pursuits, however pleasing to his ingenious mind, to steal him away from his proper functions, and rob him of that time, which he considered himself bound in duty to employ for the instruction and edification of his flock, either in preparation for his public labours among them, or in private interviews with the various members.—I have dwelt the more largely on this part of his character, because a scholar of Doctor CLARKE'S acquirements, and taste for literature and science, is under a strong temptation to spend more time in such pursuits than is consistent with properly discharging the duties of his sacred profession.

Your Pastor employed himself much in the study of the Holy Scriptures. To these heavenly Oracles he repaired, as the sources of divine knowledge, and endeavoured to gain right apprehensions of the truths contained in them, both for his own sake and the sake of his hearers, whom he instructed in these, according to his best understanding, after making use of the most approved helps he could procure, and which he was constantly laying himself out to obtain.

His pulpit-performances were always acceptable. With those compositions of his, which I have either heard or read, I have ever been pleased and edified. His Treatise in defence of Christianity, entitled, "Why are you a Christian?" is, perhaps, as valuable a piece as has been written within the same compass. By its conciseness it is well adapted to being dispersed; and by its perspicuity and pertinence happily calculated to convince and confirm. It is highly esteemed, not only on this, but on the other side of the Atlantic. I have received, but a little while since, a letter from a respectable Divine in Great-Britain.* In this letter he says, "We have here been greatly pleased, instructed and impressed by a little piece written by one of your Ministers, Mr. CLARKE, entitled,—"Why are you a Christian?" And after mentioning that three editions of it had been printed in England, two of which he himself had carried through the press, he adds,—"The circulation of it cannot fail to give pleasure to the pious and worthy Author, and to insure its views of usefulness."

His pleasing private intercourse with you, and also with the children of the Society, whom he delighted to instruct,
you

* The Rev. Joshua Toulmin, D. D. of Taunton.

you need not be reminded of. The impressions made by these endearments will not be soon, if ever, effaced. Indeed, so sweet was his disposition, and so engaging his manners; so pleasing was he in his conversation, and so amiable in all his interviews with those he met, that a general esteem of and affection for him was almost unavoidably excited; and he was beloved by all but the determined foes of virtue and goodness.

I pass over his domestic virtues, in which he was eminent, and which all, who knew him, witnessed.

What an unspeakable loss have you sustained in the death of such a Minister and friend! But let the bereaved Relatives—let the Members of this religious Society, consider the consolations which offer themselves in the midst of their grief. You have all abundant reason to conclude that he was a man of habitual piety, and that he lived mindful of his exit; so that although he was suddenly summoned out of time into eternity, he was prepared for the change, and that “His loins were girded about, and his light burning.” He may be said to have been watching when his Master knocked. He was even then particularly employed in his service, engaged in the very act of religious teaching, and endeavouring to prepare men for a better world.

Such grounds of comfort have we when we reflect upon the character of our dear departed friend. We consider him as one who had been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise; * and that having been thus sealed, he is now ascended to that “Holy One who inhabiteth the praises of Israel.” †

* A part of the text treated upon by the deceased on the forenoon of the day of his decease, previous to the Communion. Eph. i. 13.

† The subject upon which he was treating in the afternoon, when he was seized with the fatal malady. Psalm xxii. 3.

SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late
 Reverend Doctor BELKNAP.*

JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D. Pastor of the Church in Federal-street, was born in this town, June 4, 1744; had the rudiments of his education at the grammar school, under the care of the celebrated Mr. Lovel; and entered Harvard College in 1758.

He discovered, at this early period, such marks of genius and taste, such talents for composition, such a flow of sentiment in conversation, as to engage the esteem of the students, and arrest the attention of his instructors. His friends anticipated a life that would be distinguished, and soon beheld, with satisfaction, that it would be eminently useful.

Having received the honours of the University, in 1762, he applied his mind to the various branches of science; but feeling very serious impressions of divine truth, he turned his thoughts to theology; and the more he studied, the more he was captivated with the beauties of religion. The whole bent of his soul was to the work of the ministry; and to this he, in the most solemn manner, devoted himself. In 1763, he published a pathetic elegy, upon the death of his minister, the Rev. Alexander Cuming, which discovered how much he was influenced by devotional sentiments.

When he became a preacher of the gospel, he was invited to take the charge of the church at Dover, in N. Hampshire. There he passed several years of his valuable life with the esteem and affection of his flock, in habits of intimacy with ministers, and other gentlemen of the neighbouring places, all of whom regretted his departure. He received marks of attention and respect from the first characters of the state, who persuaded and encouraged him to compile a history, which does much honour to our country, and has given the author a name and distinction among the first literary characters of the age.

Soon after Dr. Belknap had left the church in Dover, the
 Presbyterian

* First published in the Columbian Centinel, June 25, 1798.

Presbyterian Church in this town became vacant. Having agreed to form their Church upon Congregational principles, and invited him to be their Pastor, he accepted the call, and was installed April 4th, 1787. Nothing could have been more agreeable to the ministers and people of the other churches, and to all who regarded the interests of the University of Cambridge, with which he became officially connected; being fully confident that he would be a great instrument in promoting the cause of religion and learning. As an overseer of the College, he was attentive to the concerns of the Institution; always taking a lively interest in every thing that respected its welfare.

He was an evangelical preacher; but his sermons were filled with a rich variety of observations on human life and manners. He never aimed at a splendid diction, but a vein of piety ran through his discourses, and his style was uncommonly elegant and perspicuous; his arrangements clear and luminous; and his language adapted to the subject. He was sure to gratify equally the taste of the best judges of composition, and the humble inquirers after truth. He had a great readiness in quoting and applying texts of scripture, and had read much of casuistic, systematic, and polemical divinity; but he chose to give every sentiment a practical turn, and to diffuse that wisdom, which is profitable to direct.

During the eleven years of his ministry in this place, the Society, with which he was connected, grew and flourished. The attachment was strong and mutual. While they admired his diligence and fidelity, he received from them every testimony of respect, which marks the character of a kind and obliging people.

His attentions to his flock were founded upon a regard to them, and the interests of religion. He was their sincere and affectionate friend, and he experienced peculiar pleasure in giving religious instruction to young children.* He was very active in encouraging those publications, which are designed for their use and benefit.

As a husband, parent, brother, or friend, he was tender, affable, kind, and obliging. He gave advice with cheerfulness,

* In this pleasing office he was engaged in the afternoon of the day previous to his decease, at a public catechising of the children of his society.

ness, and with an attention to the concerns of his friends, which invited their confidence.

The friends of Dr. Belknap were numerous. His acquaintance was much increased by his becoming a member of so many literary and benevolent societies; and he was active in promoting the good of every association, to which he belonged: wherever he could be of any service, he freely devoted his time and talents.

The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. No man had ever collected a greater number of facts, circumstances, and anecdotes, or a more valuable compilation of manuscripts, which might give information and entertainment to all those, who wish to know the history of their own country. In his pursuits of this kind, he frequently met with disappointment from the loss of valuable papers; and he often mentioned to his friends in New-Hampshire and Boston, that it was necessary to preserve them by multiplying copies, and making it the principal duty and interest of an association to collect them, and to study their value. The proposals of Dr. Belknap met with the approbation and encouragement of several gentlemen in this town and its environs, and the Society was incorporated in 1794.

As an author, Dr. Belknap appears with great reputation, whether we consider his fugitive performances, which often appeared without a name, or his larger works, which have been celebrated in America and Europe. He wrote much in the cause of freedom and his country before our revolution; and his patriotic ardour was as strong and sincere of late, as in former years. He was attached to the Federal Constitution of these States, which he thought to be the bulwark of Freedom and good Government; he was fully persuaded that it had been wisely and purely administered; and in his conversation, as well as in several of his public performances, manifested a conviction, that a firm and uniform support of it was essentially necessary to the Liberty and Prosperity of our country.

The first volume of the American Biography excited a strong desire in the minds of the readers to have the work continued. A second volume is now in the press; and the tears of genius are shed, that a work of so much entertainment

ment and information could not be finished by the same hand. His mind was richly furnished with this kind of knowledge, and he wrote for the public benefit. The love of fame was only a secondary consideration; his mind seemed to glow with a desire of being useful.

The frequent returns of ill health, to which this worthy man was subject, gave an anxiety to his friends, and led him to think that his days could not be long upon the earth. This stimulated his exertions, that he might do the more service while the day lasted.

But he was seized suddenly with a paralytic disorder at 4 o'clock, and died before 11, on Wednesday morning.

His remains were entombed on Friday last, with every testimony of respect from the inhabitants of the town. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland preached an affectionate discourse from John ix. 4. The whole assembly expressed their sorrow for the

* Dr. Belknap's anticipations and humble indications of his choice, relative to the manner of his death, may be perceived in the following lines, which were found among his papers, after his decease, and which were composed by him, probably at the time noted at the bottom, upon the sudden death of one of his acquaintance.

When faith and patience, hope and love,
Have made us meet for heav'n above;
How blest the privilege to rise,
Snatch'd in a moment to the skies!
Unconscious to resign our breath,
Nor taste the bitterness of death.
Such be my lot, Lord, if thou please,
To die in silence and at ease;
When thou dost know that I'm prepared,
O seize me quick to my reward.
But if thy wisdom sees it best,
To turn thine ear from this request;
If sickness be the appointed way,
To waste this frame of human clay;
If, worn with grief and rack'd with pain,
This earth must turn to earth again;
Then, let thine angels round me stand,
Support me by thy powerful hand;
Let not my faith or patience move,
Nor aught abate my hope or love;
But brighter may my graces shine,
'Till they're absorb'd in light divine.

February 9, 1791.

the loss of one so near and dear to them, as a brother and friend ; so amiable in the more tender relations of domestic life, so exemplary as a christian, so useful as a minister, so respectable in all the public offices he sustained. Who does not readily acknowledge the worth and excellence of such a character ?

List of Dr. Belknap's Publications.

A Sermon upon Military Duty, preached at Dover, 1772.

A Serious Address to a Parishioner upon the Neglect of Public Worship.

A Sermon, on Jesus Christ the only Foundation, preached before an Association of Ministers in New-Hampshire.

Election Sermon, preached at Portsmouth, 1784.

A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, 1789.

A Discourse, delivered at the request of the Historical Society, October, 1792 ; being the completion of the 3d Century from Columbus's Discovery of America.

Dissertations upon the Character and Resurrection of Christ ; one vol. 12mo.

Collection of Psalms and Hymns ; one vol. 12mo.

Convention Sermon, 1796.

A Sermon on the Day of the National Fast, May 9th, 1798.

Dr. Belknap's Historical Works are,

History of New-Hampshire ; 3 vols. 8vo.

The Foresters ; an American Tale : being a Sequel to the History of John Bull, the Clothier ; one vol. 12mo.

American Biography ; 2 vols. 8vo.

He published also several Essays upon the African Trade ; upon Civil and Religious Liberty ; upon the state and settlement of this country, in periodical papers ; in the Columbian Magazine, printed in Philadelphia ; in the Boston Magazine, 1784 ; in the Historical Collections, and in Newspapers.

Extract

Extract from the Rev. Mr. KIRKLAND'S Sermon, at the interment of the Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

“ IN an eminent manner did the person we lament, appear to consider himself, with all his endowments and opportunities, as placed in the world by the Great Moral Governor, and bound by the strongest obligations and motives to be faithful, active, and persevering in the duties of his station. In few instances have time and talents been so diligently, conscientiously, and usefully employed. A genius active and original, a judgment distinguishing and correct, and a retentive memory, improved by a learned education, and habitual and close industry; and united to christian faith and temper, could not fail to make a character of eminent usefulness and honour. We have reason to bless the great Head of the Church that he devoted himself to the christian ministry, and entered into the spirit of his office. With what diligence and zeal he strove to acquire and communicate christian knowledge, none present can be ignorant. Seizing the early hours of the day, superior to the enticements of indolence, abhorring idleness, finishing whatever study or inquiry he had begun, and using recreations and visits, as preparations for serious pursuits, his mind became enriched with a large store of theological and evangelical learning. But his ardent curiosity did not confine itself to the mere studies of his profession. Not by slighting any of the public or private duties of his office, but by superior economy of time and industry, he redeemed leisure to carry his researches into other fields of literature, suited to gratify his taste, and increase his usefulness. How well he joined to theology and general literature, the knowledge of human nature and the characters of men, was evinced by his discourses, adapted to real life, and unfolding the secret springs of action; and by his conversation and behaviour, suited to persons, times and places.

Such intellectual and moral attainments could not but render him an important character to the world, to his country, and to the religious, literary and domestic societies, with which he was connected. The world has reaped the fruits of his labours and researches, not only in his professional

fional studies, but in other departments of literature ; in writings which will maintain their reputation, so long as readers of piety and taste, and lovers of historical truth remain. It is a painful circumstance attending his death, that it stops the progress of a useful and interesting work, for which the public voice pronounced him peculiarly qualified, and which the world of letters hoped he might extend through the successive periods of his country's history.*

How he magnified the office of the christian ministry, you and others, who enjoyed his ministrations, who joined in his prayers, who sat under his preaching, and saw him in the private duties of his station, can better conceive than I describe. If a judicious and seasonable choice of subjects, pertinency in thoughts, clearness in method, and warmth in application ; if language plain and perspicuous, polished and nervous ; if striking illustrations ; if evangelical doctrines and motives ; if a seriousness and fervour, evincing that the preacher's own mind was affected ; if a pronunciation free and natural, distinct and emphatical, are excellencies in public teaching, you, my brethren of this Society, have possessed them in your deceased Pastor. Your attention was never drawn from the great practical views of the gospel by the needless introduction of controversial subjects ; nor your minds perplexed, nor your devotional feelings damped by the cold subtleties of metaphysick. His preaching was designed to make you good and happy, and not to gain your applause. Whilst the manner, as well as matter, was suited to affect the heart, no attempt was made to overbear your imaginations and excite your passions by clamorous and affected tones.

You are witnesses what is lost, no less in private conduct and example, than in public ministrations ; how well his life became his doctrine ; how the divine, moral, and social virtues appeared in him, in the various scenes of life, in the hours of adversity, and in his intercourse with his people. You are witnesses, how kind and inoffensive, yet plain and sincere, was his demeanour towards you ; how tender and sympathetic were his feelings ; for he could say, " Who is weak, and I am not weak ? Who is offended, and I burn not ? Have I not wept with him that was in trouble ?"

You

* The American Biography.

You are witnesses, how useful was his conversation, how simple and unaffected were his manners. The sick are witnesses of his attention, his fidelity, and tenderness, in comforting the believing, in warning the sinner, and confirming the doubtful. The unreasonable and censorious are witnesses of his patience and indulgence; the unbelieving, of his desire to convince them; the afflicted and despondent, of the sweetness of his consolations, and his gentle encouragement; the poor, of his ready advice and assistance; the rich, of his christian independence, united with a becoming complaisance; and the profligate, of his grief for their depravity, of his utter disapprobation of their characters.

To other Churches and to his Brethren in the Ministry, he omitted no opportunities of being useful. The cause of religion in general, and in this part of our land in particular, derived eminent support and honour from his learned, able, and faithful preaching, and his exemplary life. At a time, when an "evil heart of unbelief," or a thoughtless indifference is so prevalent, the loss of such an influence in favour of truth and virtue is a general calamity.

Whilst the Church is deprived of a distinguished Minister, the republic of letters of an accomplished Scholar and Writer, the country mourns a Patriot. Ever a strenuous assertor of the rights of the Colonies in speech and writing, and a warm friend of the revolution, which accomplished the independence of the United States; he was also a decided advocate and supporter of the governments of our own choice, which succeeded, and of the Constitution for the States in Union, which he considered the bulwark of our national security and welfare. His love of true liberty was equal to his hatred of licentiousness; his zeal for the rights of man to his zeal for the defeat of faction and anarchy. Actuated by public spirit, and, viewing it the duty of every citizen to throw his whole weight into the scale on the side of law and order, he was earnest in his wishes and prayers for the government of the country, and in critical periods, took an open and unequivocal, and as far as professional private duties allowed, an active part.

The Academies and Societies, instituted for arts and sciences, for promoting historical knowledge and humanity, as well as the University, are deprived of all that assistance

and support, which, as far as health permitted, they derived from one, whose predominant desire was to do good, whose solid mind was superior to the vanity of applause, and valued every thing in proportion to its utility.

As a son, a husband, a father, a brother, a friend, and neighbour, what he was, their bleeding hearts can tell, who were connected with him in these interesting relations; who knew his kind and cheerful temper, his sincere and guileless disposition, his disinterested benevolence, and his activity in every good work."



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ERRATA.

Page 264, line 14, for *son* read *nephew*. P. 274, l. 12, from bottom, for *Robert Boucher* read *Rev. Robert Boucher Nichols*. No records were kept till Mr. Brockwell. Same page, l. 9, from bot. for 1772, read 1777. P. 271, l. 21, for 1780, read 1800. P. 288, l. 12, read *c'Ordatus*.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1799.

REMARKS MADE DURING A RESIDENCE AT STABROEK
RIO DEMERARY (LAT. 6. 10. N.) IN THE LATTER
PART OF THE YEAR 1798. BY THOMAS PIERRONET.

A TRAVELLER finds himself in an awkward situation, when journeying in this country, to find that, in every house, it is expected that he should furnish his own hammock for the night. This principle is so extensive, that no one expects to provide spare beds, or even hammocks, any farther than are absolutely necessary for the use of his own family; and every inhabitant, whose business may call him out, always carries one in his pegal.

Ants. The ants are here exceedingly troublesome; they are very small, and do not sting, but are the most rapacious vermin in the colony. They are remarkably fond of sugar, which can hardly be placed out of their reach. The only method, yet discovered, of evading their visits, is by suspending it to a cord, round which a tuft of cotton being tied, presents them an obstacle their dexterity cannot surmount.

These insects infest every part of the house alike, the ground and attic stories being equally the objects of research; and no method has as yet been discovered to extirpate them.

Other vermin, which are domesticated, are, the *Spider*, of a very large size, measuring nearly three inches from claw to claw, but quite harmless.

The *Merribunter*, or *wild bee*, which is continually employed

B

[Vol. vi.]

ployed in constructing its nests, which are suspended by a kind of stem, and affixed to every part of the house. The sting of this animal is very painful. An immediate application of any oleaginous substance has been found the most efficacious remedy. This animal is of a dark brown colour, and is from one inch to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. They may be drawn from their nests by placing the hand under the arm-pits, until it has imbibed the effluvia of that part of the body, and then placing it near a nest : the animals will fly out, and rest upon it, without doing the least detriment.

The common *Scorpion*, of a small size.

The *Centipede*, very rare.

The common *Fly*, which abounds in some houses, and scarcely ever visits others.

The green *Fly*, which deposits its eggs in the crevices of the posts of the house.

The *Lizard*, of a colour approaching to black, almost equal in size to a *Guana*, armed with sharp claws, which it uses defensively with great effect.

The *Bat*, rather larger than the common one of the United States, which infests old houses in flocks, and which, by their screaming and croaking, are very troublesome and disagreeable during the night.

The *Musquito*, the most venomous insect in Guyana to strangers, who suffer very severely by their stings ; many have suffered amputation, and even the loss of life, by means of large ulcers, which have been caused originally by their bite. But persons used to the colony are scarcely ever bitten by them ; and when they are, they feel no inconvenience from their attack.

The *Freemason*, a species of *Merribunter*, is an insect which builds its nest of clay against the ceilings and roofs of houses, and deposits one egg in each of them ; it then closes it up, leaving only an orifice in the side. It then goes in quest of small spiders ; and having caught three, it forces them into the nest, where it closes them up as quick as possible. It is supposed, that, when the caterpillar comes to life, it devours the spiders, as they have been sought for as soon as the young one had acquired strength to burst its prison, and not a vestige of them found.

The

The *Cockroach*, very numerous.

Reptiles, found in the town, are,

The *Frog*, whose croaking is remarkably loud and hoarse, abounding in the trenches and dykes.

The *Land-Crab*, which, by continually perforating the dams, causes vast trouble to the planters, &c. by letting the water flow into the plantations through a thousand almost invisible sluices.

The *Firefly*, of the beetle kind, which emits a very brilliant light in the evening, and abounds in the environs of Stabroek.

The *Bug*, also of the beetle species, which frequently extinguishes candles by flying against the wick.

Among the *Quadrupeds*, are,

A small species of the *Elephant*, of a light dun colour, from three to four feet in height, which is good eating. It is called by the natives, *Macpori*, and sometimes, by the English, *Wild-Cow*.

Wild Hogs, of three species, one whereof is the *Peccaree*. These animals roam about in astonishing droves, of several thousands in number. They progress forward in a strait line, and no mountains or rivers are capable of stopping them. They are very furious when attacked; but if the hunter ascend a tree, he may expend his ammunition on the herd, as they never proceed whilst the firing continues; but being worked up to a great degree of rage, tear the ground and surrounding bushes, in a most furious manner, until the firing ceases; when they resume their journey.

Great numbers of black cattle, which run wild.

The *Zebra*, about the size of a large calf.

The *Tiger-Cat*, *Leopard*, and two or three other varieties of the same kind.

The *Sloth*, a species of beaver.

The *Ant-Bear*, with three varieties of the bear kind.

The *Baboon*, of the size of a middling dog. Monkeys in abundance.

Birds. A small species of *Peacock*, about the size of a partridge, called the *Sun Bird*.

The *Que ce qu'il dit*, whose cry exactly resembles the articulation of those words.

Wild

Wild Turkies.

Beautiful *Parroquets*, green, red and yellow.

Various kinds of *Parrots*.

The *Blue Bird*, of the size of a robin.

The *Flamingo*, which appears very beautiful when flying in the sun, and is of a deep flame colour.

Termites. Immediately after the clearing up of a heavy rain, which had lasted during the greater part of the preceding night, the air was found replete with *termites*, or wood ants, whose wings were shed on the least touch. It is supposable that these animals had just attained their winged state, as they had no means of eluding pursuit. They totally vanished in an hour.

Snakes. These reptiles are some of them of an enormous size; they have been met with from twenty-five to thirty feet in length; they have been known to attack and kill an ox, and are not penetrable by a ball, except in the head, their scales completely defending their bodies. There is a species of this animal which has a horn near its navel, which it forces into the ground, and then raises itself to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. They are always avoided by the natives.

The *Libari*, or *Sullen Snake*, is about one foot in length; so called from its never removing itself out of the way of any one, being exceedingly sluggish. Its bite is mortal.

Fish. Among these are the *Jacob Evertz*, *Cacouma*, *Flounder*, *Blinker*, *Herring*, *Earou*, *Laramon*, *Four-eyes*, *Sib-ailee*, *Gilbacker*, *Koratz*, *Boucouri*, *Carstoback*, *Sun-fish*, *Lokidi*, *Courasse*, *Affa*, and *Shrimp*.

Quaramon, a large species of mullet, which leaps out of the water with great force.

The soil agrees with the greater part of the vegetable tribe; it assimilates particularly with the spice trees.

Cayenne has lately exported a considerable quantity of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon.

The *Otaheite Cloth Tree* grows before the governor's house, and the *Bread Fruit Tree* flourishes in different parts of the colony.

Cinnamon, of a superior quality, has been produced in the garden of Mr. Grenet, and nutmegs from that of Mr. St.

St. Urfel ; but the Dutch government has always prohibited their increase, other than as an object of curiosity.

The Almond is a native ; and Pine Apples are so plenty, that, in riding over the sandy beaches and tracts, you may gather a thousand.

Grapes are here in a high state of perfection.

Plantains thrive very much ; also the Bananna and Cocoa Nut trees.

The Ochre is a green, tasteless fruit, which makes an excellent soup, and resembles a capsicum.

Of Peppers they have three species, the Common, Bird and Negro Peppers.

The Acouyero Nut has a remarkable hard stone ; its fruit resembles cheese in taste.

They have a fruit called the Launa, of the pear kind, whose juice is of a black, glutinous substance, and, when applied to the skin, cannot be got off under nine days. Strangers, who have freckles and sunburns, are frequently deceived by the inhabitants ; they prescribing the launa juice as a certain remedy. This, when used, has given them a horrid appearance. I have been informed, by a person who underwent the experiment, that it resisted the application of aqua fortis, and even oil of vitriol.

Some of the other fruits are, the Sapadilla, Sugar-Apple ; Water-Melon, Musk-Melon, Cashew, Palm-Cabbage, Cherry, Jamaica Plumb, Hog Plumb, Lemon, Lime, Mango, Locust, Mistic, Conch, Pomegranate, Custard-Apple, Savaree-Nut, Tamarind, Mammee, Granadillo, Guava, Alligator-Pear, Orange, Shaddock, Seville-Orange, Paupau, Calabash, Forbidden-Fruit.

Town. A stranger from the Northward sees, with surprise, a town without chimneys, unless it be one here and there erected in a Dutch kitchen. The common way of cooking is to make a fire on the ground, in an out-house, and let the smoke shift for itself.

It has been observed by the Barbadian emigrants, that the Dutch colonists have built their privies as near the house, and the kitchen as far distant, as possible. Their opponents retort, that the places alluded to, are infinitely cleaner and less offensive than a Barbadoes kitchen. They have truth, at least, on their side.

Scarcely

Scarcely a single glass window is in the town. Their place is supplied by shutters, and, among those of higher rank, by blinds. Nevertheless, the houses are infinitely superior, in point of appearance, to those of Barbadoes. A scantiness of furniture is very visible in the large rooms. Magnificence, and even elegance, are very little known in Demerary.

August 10. A small lot of land, laying between the upper canal and the river, containing $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre, which was overgrown with mangroves, and under water every tide, was this day sold for £.400 sterling.

The burying ground of Stabroek, and of the adjoining dependencies of the new town, La Bourgade, and Bridgetown, contains 16 acres, in the centre of which, a church is to be built, at some future period.

The town of Stabroek consists of about 250 houses, the rents of which are from 3000 to 1200 guilders. It consists of a main street, and two others, parallel to the dams, which all meet the river at right angles. The two dams are called North and South, in respect to their situation to the town, and bound two canals, or trenches, that are of great use in boating heavy articles before every house. They have likewise a trench, over which is thrown a wooden bridge, besides a number of smaller ones, cut in various directions. The sickly season commences when these ditches stagnate in the dry season, they being out of the reach of common tides, and continues during the months of July, August, September, October, and sometimes part of November, when the rains sitting in, again diminish the mortality; but of late years the seasons have been very precarious, the rain falling by intervals the whole of the time.

The journal, at the end of this book, may be taken as a specimen. The rain here, in common with other tropical countries, generally descends in torrents, and diminishes gradually to the end of the storm.

Wells and pumps are not used. The muddiness of the soil and brackishness of the water preclude the use of them, although you meet with water, generally, at two feet beneath the surface.

The roads, which are of stiff clay, have been formed by the

the soil thrown out of the dams, and in dry weather are very good; but on the least shower, they become, from their slipperiness and adhesive quality, almost impassable. They are obliged to batten their wooden bridges on this account, which otherwise would prove excessively dangerous. They have, however, this good quality, that an hour's sun will dry them, even after the most violent storm.

The only paving to be met with, is a brick path, that runs the length of the town, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile; which was laid by Mrs. Espinasse, a former governor's wife. It contains several hundred thousand bricks. No one can roll a barrel or ride a horse over it, without incurring a penalty, it being the only walkable path in wet weather. Since the British have held the place, it has been suffered to run to ruin in many places.

The value of the houses, &c. are in no proportion to their rents. The very best may be obtained at ten years' purchase, while others will not bring in above one third of that value. The supposed cause of this depreciation is the great repairs, which are here always necessary, arising from a principle of decay inherent to the climate, and to the great value of money in a country where speculation knows no bounds.

The troops now in Stabroek may be estimated as follows:

The remains of the 39th regiment,	200
The black corps, formed by an assessment of every 50th slave on all plantations possessing more than that number,	700
The militia, composed of all the king's natural born subjects,	200
The Dutch troops,	150
	<hr/>
	1250

The duty of a burgher is simply the defence of the town, in case of a negro insurrection. They are obliged to furnish themselves with a musket, bayonet, sabre, and forty rounds of ammunition. They are composed of those Hollanders, who refuse joining the militia, Germans, French, Swifs, &c. and a few Americans. This corps are not

not obliged to take arms on any occasion, except the fore-mentioned one, even were a French fleet to ascend the river.

No other water is made use of but rain water, preserved in casks, and sometimes, although rarely, in cisterns. A continual supply of rain is, therefore, necessary for the inhabitants, who suffer extremely during the dry season, when they are obliged to obtain their water many miles up the river, at an excessive price.

The insects are very destructive of lumber, which is the reason that a lumber-yard has not yet been established in the colony. It is impossible to guard against their ravages while the boards lay on the ground.

Rio Demerary, from being a small stream, has increased to a mile in breadth, one half of which, however, is shoal. In consequence of this encroachment, several estates have been entirely washed away, the vestiges of whose works may yet be seen at low water, and others are daily decaying. It is with the greatest difficulty they preserve the foundations of the fort. This river is navigable far above the Loo plantation, which lays 100 miles up; and it has been said, that at the height of 500 miles, it takes its source from a lake.

Others assert, that the whole province of Guyana is formed by the junction of the Amazon with the Oronoko; but with what truth, I cannot determine.

The depth of the water, from the fort to the sand hills, is from 5 to 7 fathoms, muddy bottom. At the sand hills, and a little below, 9 fathoms sand. One tide above the sand hills, you meet with 20 fathoms rocks; those who proceed thus far, moor to the trees. The Western sand hills come perpendicular to the river; the Eastern ones are a little removed from it.

The fish above the sand hills, where the water is fresh and pellucid, are infinitely superior to those nearer the mouth of the river, where the water is salt and muddy.

Rio Essequibo is 60 miles wide at the mouth, and contains nearly 300 islands. Its banks are rocky; it abounds in subjects of natural history; its fruit is superior to that of Demerary, and its sugar plantations of a far better quality.

The

The quantity of mud is astonishing, as well as the extent of it. On the coast, you strike soundings on mud banks in 5 fathoms, out of sight of the land. It continues increasing until it forms vast shoals, which are intersected by the mouths of the rivers. Of these, Poumaron, Essequibo, Demerary, Berbice, Quarantin, Surinam, and Cayenne, are the most considerable; the lesser ones are called creeks, and are frequently of an extreme depth, and narrow. Many of these are pellucid, whereas the others are replete with muddy particles.

In consequence of the capture of a Portuguese vessel, which was carried into Demerary, some Portuguese set out from the Brazils, accompanied by some Indian guides; they arrived at the head of the river, and came in a canoe to Stabroek after a journey of 30 days.

The number of plantations are,
East Coast.

From the fort in Demerary to Mahaica Creek,	80
From ————— to Mahaiconia, - - -	30
From Mahaiconia to Abary Creek, - - -	12
From Abary to Rio Berbice, - - -	90
	<hr/> 212

West Coast.

From the west point of Rio Demerary to Bona	
Sierra in Rio Essequibo, - - -	45
From Tupenam Creek, Rio Essequibo, to Rio	
Poumaron, - - -	120
	<hr/> 165

Islands in Essequibo.

Leguana, - - -	45
Wakenam, - - -	40
Tiger Island, - - -	5
In the other islands, - - -	20
	<hr/> 110

In all, 487 plantations, which, at 3 whites, the average number on each, are equal to 1461 white inhabitants, exclusive of those on the river plantations, and those contained,

tained in the towns. The number of coloured people are upwards of 250,000.

The low land is subject to frequent changes. It has been clearly formed by the river, as, on digging 10 miles inland, strata of shells have been discovered, and even the remains of vessels have been met with 600 or 700 rods from the shore.

The land is chiefly bounded by thickets of mangroves, which form an impenetrable barrier to the waves. A northerly gale often brings down a quantity of sand, which, being thrown ashore, destroys this plant; and the sea frequently makes great ravages on its former site. However, it sometimes so happens, that a bank of mud is thrown up by the ocean, which, covering the sand, the mangrove once more resumes its original station.

Great quantities of different ores are discovered among the rocks and mountains. A shaft was sunk at Piera, belonging to Mr. Haslin, from which some ore was extracted, which was pronounced to be gold; but, for some reasons of the government, it was discontinued. Minerals are very abundant, particularly the red and yellow ochres. Farther back are large hills, which, from the description of their brilliancy, must be composed of talc, or perhaps spar, intermixed with quartz.

No European flowers will flourish in the rank soil of Demerary, not even a colliflower. The soil is so rank, that they exhaust themselves before the time of blossom.

There are scarcely any flowering plants peculiar to the country; but of shrubs the greatest variety, and of the most elegant kinds, which are planted in what they call their gardens, although horticulture be here in its most uncouth form.

The interior will probably never be brought to a state of cultivation, owing to the want of drainage; or at least the tract sixty miles from the sea, which is a vast drowned swamp. All the improvements have been hitherto made on the sea-coast, and on the banks of the rivers, and very rarely has a plantation been carried farther back. The labour in forming a new plantation is immense, and can only be estimated by those who have been spectators thereof.

The

The produce of these settlements are coffee, cotton, and sugar. Of these, cotton is supposed to be the most precarious crop. Too much rain rots it, and a succession of dry weather causes it to blast. Coffee, on the contrary, has nothing to fear, except from too much wet. Several estates make a good revenue from their plantain walks; a bunch of which, previous to the importation of 60,000 slaves by the English into the colony, was sold for $2\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, but now fetches $12\frac{1}{2}$.

Many persons make a great deal of money by procuring timber for the colony; but the labour used to obtain it must be immense, when it is considered that a square foot of some kinds weighs frequently an hundred pounds.— They take a gang of negroes, from twelve to twenty, and sometimes more, and go up a river until they meet with the species they are in quest of. They then land; the head of the gang strikes into the woods, and marks the trees, as nearly in a line as possible, until he has provided a sufficient number to make his raft. In the mean while the slaves are busy in constructing huts, and making their little arrangements by the time the master returns, which sometimes happens after he has penetrated from two to three miles into the forest. They then immediately begin falling the trees, which are often of a great thickness; this thickness is reduced by squaring it, until it be reduced to a size proportioned to the strength of the crew who are to remove the log.

When they have squared the whole, they then begin opening a road; for this purpose, they cut down all the growth between the farthest stick and the stream, to the breadth of three or four yards, taking care to throw the trunks across the road, that they may answer the purpose of rollers. They then affix a rope to the several pieces of timber, and, by main strength, haul it to the river's side. During this time, a boat is perpetually employed in fetching plantains, &c. for their subsistence, and is generally five days on its voyage.

After the raft is prepared, it is slung over the sides of a large punt, and towed down the stream, when a part is sawed up into boards, which are sold from five to six stivers per superficial foot, and the blocks in proportion.

The

The most valuable woods are the Determa, Wallaba, Crabwood, Greenheart, Sissere, Sirrabaillee, Callibaillee, &c.

Animal labour is totally excluded, unless it be that of the horse, when used for the saddle or chair. This is not so much to be wondered at, when it is considered, that the low country does not produce even a pebble. A team of oxen or horses, with a heavy draught, would destroy the best road in Demerary in the rainy season. As for the interior, the soil is so swampy, that an animal of burthen would sink to its belly at every step. However, the colonists contrive to intersect the country with such a multitude of canals, that the heaviest articles are delivered them at a very cheap rate.

The cutting of grass is very laborious and tiresome; and as it is the only herbaceous food of the horses, it is necessary to procure great quantities of it. The only way used here, to obtain it, is by sending out the negroes with a knife, who, by this tedious operation, each one at length collects a bundle, which may weigh eighty pounds, which he binds like a wheat sheaf, and carries off. It is remarkable, that the scythe, sickle, flail, plough, waggon, or even hand-barrow, are absolutely unknown in the colony.

The grants of plantations allow them to run 750 rods back; if a planter would push farther, he was obliged to make an application to the grand council in Holland, who rarely refuse his request.

Negroes. The negroes are subsisted at a very easy rate; a bunch of plantains, which will last them a week, and a little salt-fish, form their delicacies. As for their clothing, the far greater part of them have only a narrow strip of bunting to bind round their middle, while many of the younger classes have not even this ornament. However, in some families they are comfortably clothed, and fed with scraps which have reached the second day. Their lodgings are, however, on the bare floor, where they generally lay promiscuously.

They are punished very severely; although it depends very much on the disposition of their owners, whether they go through a constant whipping, or whether they experience a milder fate. Theft and desertion are generally left to the fiscal, whose agents apply from two to five

five hundred lashes (according to their sentence) with a long whip, which lacerates them horridly. These lashes are always applied on the bare breech, and the culprit prevented from sitting thereon for three months.

Crimes of greater magnitude are extenuated by the rack, and subsequent decapitation.

The negroes are allowed the privilege of the Sunday, when they come into the town, either to work in cleaning out the trenches, &c. or, with a load of fruit or vegetables, which they dispose of for their own emolument. After they have received the amount of their perquisite, they either lay out the money in procuring some little necessaries, or otherwise in drinking, gambling and dancing; and the day is generally concluded by one or more battles.

A negro funeral is conducted with a mock solemnity, which is truly farcical. "*Wat de debil, gemmen, how you walk! wat buckra tink!*" was an exclamation I once heard uttered by the mulatto, who officiated as minister, on seeing a great propensity to be uproarious manifested by the procession.

Whilst the funeral service is performing, a number of them form a dance, in which they are joined, after the interment, by those who assisted thereat. Their dances and music have a great affinity with those described in the Sandwich islands.

Bucks. The Bucks, or native Indians, are wandering tribes: they seldom stay very long in a settlement; or, at most, until the death of one of their tribe, when they immediately decamp. Their huts are open at the sides, and covered at the top with trulee leaves; they light a fire in the area in the evening, previous to their sleeping in their hammocks, the smoke of which greatly conduces to keep off the insects.

They are exceedingly phlegmatic, and cannot be easily provoked, unless by taking liberties with their women.

They are generally short and thick, but by no means muscular, and destitute of the energy and vivacity of the North-American tribes.

These people are under the protection of the Dutch government, who find them the only barrier against the desertion

desertion of their negroes, who are frequently apprehended by the Bucks.

Their ingenuity is tolerably displayed in the manufacture of lines, twine, and hammocks, of the bark of a tree; besides very fine cotton hammocks, extremely well spun and wove, which they sometimes sell as high as eighty dollars; pegals, which are double baskets, of a square form, and impenetrable to the rain, being made of cane, and stuffed with plantain leaves; cassavi sieves, baskets, buck pots, &c.

Several of them are domiciliated with the whites, and make good servants. They likewise will often work in clearing plantations for a trifling recompense.

They have a favourite practice of painting themselves red with the juice of a plant called *rocou*. They go entirely naked, having only a small strip of cloth round their middle. The women wear a small apron curiously wrought with beads. Some of these tribes are named as follow: The Waraous, Capissahns, Cabissées, Pariahnes, Quapissans, Tigres, Arawcas, or Arouacs.

It appears that the Bucks, who were the principal means of suppressing two insurrections, were defrauded of the reward promised them for bringing in the right hands of the bush or maroon negroes, for which they were to receive 300 florins each. Whereas on bringing in one hundred of these hands, they were presented with a few dollars only. The consequence has been that they have declared themselves neutrals on every future occasion of that kind, which may be productive of fatal consequences to the colony on some future day.

The Bucks and Buckines frequently hold an intercourse with the negroes; the children produced thereby are called Caribogres, and are generally an active and intelligent race.

The increase of rice here is astonishing; 5000 pounds per acre have been gathered from some of the uncultivated islands in Essequibo, which are covered at every spring tide; yet notwithstanding this fertility, its culture is very little attended to, although it sometimes fetches five shivers per pound.

There

A co
Piece
Porter
Cider,
Doctor
Champ
Ferry

There are four law courts held, viz.

The Roll Court, for determining small actions, sits twice a month.

The Commiffaries' Court, for settling larger sums, once a month.

The Court of Justice, for criminal cases, is held every two months.

The Court of Police, which transacts the business generally determined by an American town-meeting, such as regulating the taxes, repairing the highways, &c. sits once in three months.

The coins most current, are,

	Guilders.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Doubloons, valued at	44	0	0
Johannes, - - -	22	0	0
Dollar, 11 Bits, or	2	15	0
$\frac{1}{4}$ do. - - -	0	12	8
$\frac{1}{4}$ of a cut do. - - -	0	10	0
Guilder piece, - - -	1	2	8
Clipt do. - - -	1	0	0
6 Stiver piece, - - -	0	6	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ Guilder, or 2 Bits, - - -	0	10	0
$\frac{1}{4}$ do. or 1 Bit, - - -	0	5	0
$\frac{1}{4}$ Bit, - - -	0	2	8
Dutch Ducat, or rix dollar,	3	0	0
Crown, - - -	3	0	0
Moidore, - - -	16	10	0
Guilder, is - - -	36 cents,	3 mills.	
Bit, - - -	10 cents.		
16 Pennings, - - -	1 Stiver.		
20 Stivers, - - -	1 Guilder.		
1 Stiver, - - -	2 Coppers.		

Colony Prices.

	guild.	stiv.		guild.	stiv.
A coat, - - -	88	0	Madeira per bottle, -	5	10
Piece in a shoe, -	1	10	Milk well watered pr. qrt.	1	0
Porter per bottle, -	1	10	Three cherries, -	0	5
Cider, do. - - -	2	0	An apple, - - -	0	5
Doctor's visit, - -	11	0	Beef per lb. - - -	1	10
Champaign per bottle,	11	0	Bull's head, - - -	35	0
Ferry across the river,	1	0	Jacob Evertz fish per lb.	2	15

SPECIMEN

K SPECIMEN OF THE MOUNTAINEER, OR SHESHATAPOOSH-SHOISH, SKOFFIE, AND MICMAC LANGUAGES.*

THE ensuing vocabulary I transcribed *viva voce* from Gabriel, a young Mountaineer Indian (servant to Louis, a Micmac, in the Bay of St. George, Newfoundland) whom I met with in the Bay of Islands. He was remarkably desirous of information of every kind; and his questions, on different subjects, shewed a disposition for improvement, seldom met with in men of his class. He spoke both French and English tolerably, and was well acquainted with the Skoffie, Micmac, and Mountaineer dialects.

His father was a Skoffie by birth; which nation resides far to the westward of Labrador. He described the country as laying near a "big lake," very barren; but that beaver were there "as thick as sand." It joins with the territory of the Sketapusshoish, or mountaineers, with whom they are frequently at war. In an incursion of the latter tribe, the old man was taken prisoner, and adopted by them. He married and resided many years with them; but happening to lose his wife, and two of his children, by the small pox, he resolved, with the remainder of his family, the son before alluded to, then about fourteen, and a daughter of eight years old, (who was drowned last winter), to take a passage for Newfoundland. On his arrival, he preferred a state of servitude to his former independence. He has lived here six years, and appears perfectly contented with his lot. Gabriel wishes to travel into the United States; but not being able to obtain his father's consent, it is probable he will remain with him till his decease.

From

* When a letter, in the middle of a word, is printed in *italic*, it is meant to make a strong aspiration, not amounting to a distinct articulation. If this accent (') be printed over a letter in the middle of a word, it shows where the emphasis dwells on a particular syllable, which is pronounced very forcibly. When this accent (˘) is placed over a letter, it is meant that it shall have a very broad pronunciation.

From the irregularity of these languages, it appears almost impossible to reduce them to the rules of grammar. I do not recollect a single instance, wherein the formation of the plural agrees in any two words. The same words, in different situations, often become totally different; and the declination of the verbs is yet more exceptionable. The attainment of these dialects, should it be ever attempted, must, therefore, be attended with immense difficulty.

There is evidently a great resemblance between the Skoffie and Mountaineer. The Micmac resembles them, but rarely. Two words, I find derived from the French, *bojoortay* from *bon jour à toi*, and *monchapouy* from *mon chapeau*. *Blaakeet* and *jaakeet* clearly proceed from *blanket* and *jacket*: they are, however, the only ones I could discover, that bore much similitude to the European languages.

Many inaccuracies have, no doubt, crept into the subsequent pages; but more especially among the verbs. I have endeavoured to express, as nearly as possible, the many aspirations which I met with; but some of them are so peculiar, that it is difficult to combine letters adequate to their real pronunciation.

The orthography might be much simplified; but being willing to come as near the sound of the words as possible, I have used more letters than perhaps were really needful. On looking over these sheets, I find, in many places, the same articulations differently expressed: these, however, are sufficiently obvious to make a correction unnecessary.

D

God

Micmac.

God	Keythourk
Christ	Koshnokotoashet
Crucifix	weeleecoulouchouil
Priest	pahtleeāsh
Devil	maneetou
Indian	Illenoh
American	Mahtonkowachee
Frenchman	Wanouch
Englishman	Angalsheeu
Man	jaaenan
Woman	aapect
Child	mejewaouches
My father	nouch
Mother	keets or koueets
Son	koush
Daughter	toush
Husband	taypeetāh
Wife	taypeetum.
Grandfather	neekskamich
Grandmother	nokomich
Uncle	elamouerish
Aunt	lishē
Girl	aypeetāysh
A fine girl	kalousheet
Brother	wichekeeteak
Gabriel	Gabalēēle
Joseph	Jhoojhep
Martha	Nasholh
Hand	peton
Head	monouché
Arm	etthon
Leg	kageecun
Foot	kaut
Finger	clooegan
Thumb	teechen
Tongue	willenóuh
Teeth	mebeetél
Nail	keechee
Hair	mushabone
Hat	ablacalwaashek
Shoe	whanjououkfnan

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

Shayhoursh
Tishtafhnahaganou
chebahahtouk
patleésh
machemántouee
llenou
Loboſtonowach
Miſtekouſhou
Agaléſhou
napew
ſehquow
awaſh
notówee
nahkhowee
nouſeneechen
natanish
naapen
tiſhquah
neemouſhong
noohkom
nokomosh
touſheſh
ſquaſhiſh
miniſhquawwouſhou
meecange
Khapaleet
Shooſhep
Padeſhouſh
teekechee
ſhoukouan
ſheptton
neefcaatch
neefhetch
daiſheefh
nemeteefhchen
tellenec
mepéethex
naſkachee
peeſhquahan
monchapouy
mouſhtawhaſten

Shayhoursh
Tahtaahchenou
chebeeatooken
ſhaſhajeéketouſh
macheemántou
Naſhkapou
Maſtonow
Miſtekouſhou
Naggaleſhou
naabouh
ſchow
awahakſkiſh
noutowwee
neekowouwee
moofneechen
meentanish
naahpen
teſhquouet
oumouſhouh
noopkom
nokomaſh
touſheſh
ſhquaſh
naſhiſhou ſquaſh
mechkapmaſh
Khabeleet
Shoſhep
Palleſhouſh
meſtichee
ouſtookoohan
neſhpeetoo
niſkaatch
meſhetch
nemelegacheech
montahagan
eelayleenee
weeepich
oſhkachee
teepiſhquouhn
monchapouy
mooſtookooſhoomahaſhten

Micmac.

Stocking	whanjououkfkrahan
Trowsers	peetahkowen
Jacket	jaakeet
Cap	aahgoshin
Blanket	blaakeet
Mokassin	pashun
Handkerchief	moufhwatawee
Buttons	befwáshateé
Mittens	fitchchahan
Knife	wakou
Book	weegategan
Gun	maashkowee
Powder	píhow
Ball	peleoweee
Shot	sholosh
Flint	malsh
House	wanjeeoukang
Hatchet	tomehegan
Saw	timboutouhagun
Tinder	poutatahagan
Tinder-Box	outahtayhaygenee
Steel	pokotowee
Chest	ashahagan
Basin	napatagan
Money	shoodceauuee
Dollar	humpatakee
A copper	shomallukee
Bed	pookhan
Bow	ahpee
Arrow	majokaleahn
Tomahawk	rummeengeenecheech
Looking-Glass	benoojahah mateeefcootoon
Fiddle	abbayahjeesk
Ship	abbekouahn
Boat	shalpore
Oar	wanjoutahaan
Anchor	oulouboujhan
Rope	ahbabee
Canoe	quetan
Paddle	taagan
Bread	karkanouee
Rum	boukataweech

Indian Languages.

82

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

shewaitchbenewoutash	jeebayshmouhoolooweetash
kouboukashkawweeshen	gooougoomastawaihan
shampashawen	chamasheoouan
aganaskow	wanasquowoun
wahbouang	mogowan
mahtashun	mahteshun
weeshqualenu	weeshqualeenu
lebetowee	lebetowee
ashtish	ashtish
moncoumang	monkooman
mahaehagan	mishnahagan
pasheea	paashsekan
pirkbou	pecourkbo
monshashnee	monjajenee
sholosh	maskeneer
matresh	mahtesh
mishtookashuweechoua	tooksheeeechwa
makatashke	mogotashke
simboutagan	chimboutahgan
poutatahagan	kotoowahgan
koolowhagan	meestoochookotoowahgan
ahpeet	meestookshooahpeet
mahwatash	mahwahtash
lasheet	attooshpoon
shodeeou	shoolecou
nokatcmogon	nowateehemogan
shomalzou	toomalchou
neepouhn	neepouhn
achaappee	mishtasappee
nakashke	attoursh
abbatawashkooth	tukkatawsk
cheebenaten	
shookahbellehehgan	meeshtoogoooshoomoo
nabbequouihan	nabbequahan
fallepoush	chaltouje
mishtookoochooupouee	nokoutoochoouowee
ounoushounashoun	ounashanashoon
apesh	ahpish
oush	oush
apoui	apouy
kalaouknou	kalakonow
schoutooubowee	schotouogou

Tobacco	tomahouee
Pipe	tomakan
Pork	porkoufhee
Potatoe	{ tabatate, <i>sing.</i> labatata, <i>plur.</i>
River	sehoon
Sea	oualookfhee
Mountain	cumatun
Sky	moofhkoon
(Large) Pond	koufshben
Sun	nakoufhet
Moon	topanakoufhet
Stars	malakokoouich
Earth	keefhwajowouyaw
Air	kummelameet
Fire	pookootow
Water	fhamouahn
Thunder	kakatoookoo
Lightning	moshokohashhook
Rain	ikfashak
Hail	coomee
Snow	wastouh
Sunshine	ayeahloufk
Cloudy weather	ahlookh
Fine weather	willeekishkook
A storm	metuahmakashhookahloh
A prayer	allajoutahmih
Heaven	waashoukr
Hell	meegooahawkee
Beaver	coobeet
Otter	kooweeneek
Seal	washpou
Dog	alamonch
Pig	ourkwaysh
Sable	pataloutee
Fox	ohquish
Otter	yoowoonee
A feather	{ pehegouen, <i>sing.</i> pehegouenek, <i>plur.</i>
Goose	shenimp
Geese	shenimquak

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

sttaymou	stemou
ishboukan	wooshpook
kourkouff	kourkouff
{ anapatata	napahitah
{ labatata	
mooshkoon	shēēp
padeshee	makahan
watchou	watchou
wafeshquaw	walk
(mishta) nepee	shahahekhan
beshung	beeshoon
toposhabeshung	teepeeshowbeeshumi
johokata	woochahaykahtak
shakawshoo	misshoowemmah
shelhow	nayhtlayhn
schootoo	schkootow
nepee	nepee
lelaymishow	lelaymaystooich
wafeshquhan	mestefqualloh
foomoochan	shooahfoomoon
shahaygan	nootoomooshawmee
khoon	koonah
oyeadalouh	kotowahyeahahnaw
wayeeahdalouh	nakowashkoupulloo
meneejeshkekouh	meeshtahmeleejeeshkekouh
majeeshheeshkekouh	shookahmahjesheeshkekouh
tayeemayhan	tayeemahtouousha
jejoujoutafshee	shayshowshatofshee
mejementoafshee	mejementoafshee
ahmishke	ahmooshk
nitchook	nechook
tateshee	kashkon
attung	attubh
kookoosh	kookoosh
meentooshooaken	wapeshtan
majeshouh	machayshoo
nachouk	naychoukoo
{ peweeah	pewoya
{ mischanakawee	
nishk	nishk
nishkatch	nishkatch

Duck	shejeep
Ducks	monyoah
Fish	namaach
Cod	pachou
Salmon	lamou
Herring	alanche
Lobster	{ taakech, <i>sing.</i>
Whale	{ walumkech, <i>plur.</i>
Porpoise	octoop
Tree	alebouehk—water deer
Wood	{ neepeejeesh, <i>sing.</i>
Fuel	{ komoohjel, <i>plur.</i>
Segar	omonche
Leaf	oupokshook
Branch	tomahouetoumahan
Root	apee
Spruce	weeleapeeat
Fir	toopee
Pine	cowhat
Birch	stohon
Grass	kowwow
Muskitoe	mashkwee
Muskitoes	shkegoor
Sand	kalamouach
Stone	pegualkmouach
Stones	toopouquahn
Tin	koonedooh
Iron	koonotolh
Gold	paypekahcheecheetowee
Silver	ashawooh
Copper	majawajowjaloee
Black	joolleoowee
White	joomalkee
Blue	mushakahouah
Red	wahpace
Green	mahkataouah
Hour	mahkouah
Day	wishaouak
	nowkawtawjeech
	naakok

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

mashesnep
 masheshepejetch
 namaſkifh
 wananouſhow
 etaſhomach
 makalſh
 aſhacheeow
 miſhtamak
 atehouſhetch
 miſtookooah
 ſhakahowab
 miſhtook
 meentang
 ſhaaanſhtemow
 apeeah
 mehloo
 wattoopee
 manhake
 illenaſhit
 lowwayaſheek
 waſhquowee
 maſhkoofhooah
 ſhachemouh
 ſhachemouatch
 laykow
 aſhenec
 aſhenecah
 naſhekoumahn
 tooabuſhk
 mooſhooſhooneecowee
 ſhoolec
 ſhoowollow
 meleepou
 waahpou
 ſhukawilleepow
 miſhquow
 ſheekatawilleepow
 payootopaheegan
 jeefhekow

miſheſheepaſh
 miſheſhipaſh
 nāmeſh
 wanouoofhooce
 outaſhomak
 makālāſh
 aſhaahcheeow
 ilnaſhtamouk
 namalohawchāch
 meſhtooquah
 miſtook
 meehtah
 ſhpaanſhtow
 waſhtaſhtou
 meeloomuſhtoh
 menahquattoopee
 cheſhegawtoo
 illenaſhouk
 machejiſhk
 waſhquaytook
 maſhkoofhouaw
 ſhahcheemouh
 ſhacheemouatch
 laykow aſhnee
 aſheeneewaſheenee
 doonetowaſheeneewaſheenee
 waſhpeekoomahu
 nooſkoonahbeſhtetow
 woofhouooſhoofhoobeow
 whapeſhoolec
 mooſhkoofhoolec
 willeepou
 wahpou
 ſhuhkaweeleepow
 maykepow
 weefhowow
 payootopaheegan
 jeefhekow

Month	{ keeshnaykaytayhowjeettay. paykonoufhet
Year	keeshnaykaytayboonkok
Morning	maskitepo
Noon	mayhewlaahguat
Evening	ashquahfheäht
Night	pishkeeaikh
Spring	neepah
Summer	auketancapae
Autumn	tauahwaah
Winter	kafheek
Monday	keeshgeelenteew
Friday	weeltahmoolteen
Saturday	illekooteena
Sunday	heegendeeaygeu
One	numpatahajit
Two	taboucheche
Three	naifchechek
Four	naguechek
Five	naneje
Six	nachoukuong
Seven	alouaganik
Eight	ougomonkeehing
Nine	mafhkounata
Ten	tatung
Eleven	chelnaakht
Twelve	cheltaapooh
Thirteen	chelfheefht
Fourteen	chelnaw
Fifteen	chelnahn
Sixteen	chelafhouquohn
Seventeen	chellowougonow
Eighteen	chelowkowmoulkeehin
Nineteen	chelnafhkownatook
Twenty	topouinfhkaw
Thirty	nejinfhkaw
Forty	lawinfhkaw
Fifty	nemifhkaw
Sixty	afhemontayfhenskaw

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

payakoopeesho	payapookeeshum
peyooopooken	payapooopoon
eshkeetoo	leetchepayou
apatafhekow	shpeetahtisheekow
metaaquashoo	chekatapachenou
tapihkw	tapihkw
sheequan	sheeequan
neepun	neepen
taughquahachen	taughquahaahchen
poopooen	poopoon
shatahaskow	shasheemahichkow
{ kahteeneemeeschafchow-	oushoahpoehekeetaymee
eehehmeennaheeshkeekow	
{ whahpahcheeneemahouf-	kowheemechawjeeskaten
kawtee	
haymeenaheeshkw	kahheemechawjeeskaten
pahu	payook
nishoish	neehesh
nest	mesht
naou	nowh
napatateeh	pataytaeh
payoumachouang	paymahchwan
nishouasho	neeshouashoo
nestafh	niestohashang
naoufho	nawahashang
payougulong	payahouloonou
ashoapayook	} Same as the Mountaineer.
ashoneesh	
ashonefte	
ashonaou	
ashonapataysh	
ashoopayoumachouahn	} Same as the Mountaineer.
ashoonoonestashoo	
neestooashoo	ashoneshooashou
neewaaawshoo	ashtooneshouashou
neeshooleenoo	} Same as the Mountaineer.
neestoolleenoo	
neecooloonoo	
nebatistatoolonoo	
payakamajooahnhatooloonoo	

Micmac.

Seventy	aleegonotayshenskaw
Eighty	oumoolsehinshenskaw
Ninety	pefhwannayshenskaw
Hundred	oshkontelenah
Thousand	peedoontellenahn
Ten thousand	talungpeedoontellenahn
Twenty-five	{ tabooinshkayuboonhokchel leenaan
Thirty-six	{ neshinskayoboonelellahoo quong
One hundred and four	ashkatellenahnaakchellenow
A little	takalahäch
Good	kedoulkh
Very good	lourkedoulkh
Good for nothing	{ alapahmokooahkelourke doulkh
Bad	matouahkr
Very bad	lomalousahkr
A great many	meshtabeguelk
Any where	shetamih
Here	oulah
There	wallaheh, nohah
Yes	ah
No	mōng
I	locotaage
You	keel
He	nakum
We	neel
They	ohlah
My love	menouahkalout
To row a boat	whenjohjeeheemah
I love	menouaaldoul
Thou lovest	cashaldoul
He loves	cashahlin
We love	cashalk
You love	cashaloulah
They love	cashalkeete

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

neestooashootootooloonoo	} Same as the Mountaineer.
neestooashootashtooloonoo	
neewaahfkootashtooloonoo	
peyakooloonootatooloonoo	
{ mashtapayakobloonoota- tooloonoo	
peypayakootatooloonoo	

misfhellanoushaabatash	ashonobataysh
------------------------	---------------

{ nestooloonohahbookhon	nestohloonooashoopelohcho
{ ashoneeshk	ahn
{ payatooloonootaktooloo- nooashooenow	the same.

aposhesh	tabeshesh
----------	-----------

meloh	meloh
-------	-------

shookahmeloh	shookahmeloh
--------------	--------------

abounahfoumeloh	abounashemeloh
-----------------	----------------

alemen	ahlemen
--------	---------

shookahmachaeeten	shookahahlemen
-------------------	----------------

meseehin	shookahmeechesh
----------	-----------------

kashteno	kashnouenteh
----------	--------------

oumaysh	oumoumeh
---------	----------

ouwaysh	ouwaysh
---------	---------

ehesh	ehay
-------	------

maap	maap
------	------

neele	neela
-------	-------

cheele	cheena
--------	--------

weele	weena
-------	-------

otehaouee	otahouweea
-----------	------------

owayh	owayh
-------	-------

shookachachaheeten	chaahjeeeen
--------------------	-------------

mushtoooshoomeeeshkah	{ chahmooshtoooskoomeesh- tahn
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{ chacheeten	chaacheeheeten
--------------	----------------

{ shouahchacheeten	shougahcheeheeten
--------------------	-------------------

chacheetennocashno	chaahcheeheen
--------------------	---------------

chacheen	
----------	--

chacheenow	chaahcheecheemow
------------	------------------

chacheetenow	chaahcheeheetenow
--------------	-------------------

cashnowatacheek	makaneech
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Miema.

I loved	neekaameawoughee
Thou lovedst	shetacashalounoh
He loved	cashalouh
We loved	meenoualoulouh
You loved	mestakshaloulouh
They loved	shetacashalterashoufk
I shall love	shetakohotaykashalounoh
Thou wilt love	makshalanouh
He will love	keelkashalouh
We will love	keelcashahaleeh
You will love	pashasheakahshalanouh
They will love	cashalkh
I love you	manewahke
You love me	manewakhaneen
I am	winhoquoulkb
Thou art	keelkahdantoon
He is	stangketouh
We are	meeshoupoonah
You are	naggelāh
They are	naggamouh
I was	mogotooēmouh
Thou wast	celnaatāre
He was	
We were	tahmee
You were	tahmeenegoheetuksh
They were	nahgulah
Thou sleepest	keepah
I have	shouahtoosheh
Thou hast	remushquohtomua
He has	wantlematah
We have	welmushquote
You have	shquawtookshekeel
They have	weenmushquawhoojee
I eat	meejeefhee
Will you eat	mitifhee
Will you drink	ishkashamoukōua
Drink	shamouáng
Sit down	paahshe
Come in	choucououyeh
Go out	goolhawaspeen
Will you smoke	kotoma

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

chaatechechow
chaacheetencheel
chaachow
chachaacheen
chaachowich
cashnownachachow
nemaapaachahacheeten
nemaapahcheowchahacheeten

chaachaateech
chaacheeetee
chaacheekoo
chaachaateech
chaachaacheech
cashkowshaah
mapashcheowchaachaeten
cheenahchahacheeeten
shookahchaacheeeten
chacheowach
chaacheecheetow
cashcheenochaachcheouh
chaahcheecheeten
chachecheeten

shookashchaacheeten
chaahcheouh
cashchenomechaahcheow
chacheeten
chacheheen
wintakounce
fnataahkōōh
cheenfnabatah
aouhcheh
chenoh
willooch
aboueetāt
sktanar

To express this verb, they are obliged to use much circumlocution. It is doubtful to me whether it really exists in these dialects; and I am rather of opinion that the words used to satisfy my questions were rather approximations than a direct translation.

nepah
neeah
cheeneestahkouleen
takaaamoujeeh
awentahkounamen
stakounahnawatchee
stakounameh
mejeshou
mejeesho
mehne
mench
hahpen
ournah
walleewectawochum
peetch

chanepahn
aneeah
chanahtakouneen
takanamōūjebout
tahkonom
cheenachatakooneen
skatakooneenow
meejeeshou
meenjeshou
mehne
mench
hahpeh
houmah
wallowee
skoboeteton

I will	kleeyah
I will not	mohé
How d'ye do	bohjourtay
Thank ye	kayahn
They make them	weeneekesheetokshouh
I know	necoulh
I don't know	towouah
Come on board	tabaashee
I shot a deer	masihakal kubbenow aleboun
He will shoot a deer	paysha kubbenow aleboun
I walk	peemecyee
I am hungry	lawkawoujeen
You are hungry	keelkawoujeen
I am afraid	chebattumkleean
Begin	tallouwhen
I have begun	kaddoutalloua ashoup
I will begin	talloua ashoup
Where do you live	tammenegay keetuksh
To bark	weeggeelat
How old are you	talleegeesheetagouhen
How old am I	talleegeesheegoohee
How old is he	talleegeesheegooheet
He is dead	napookaw
Where are you	tammanayheemen
Where is your father	tammaykoookschah
Do you hear	nashtouwee
I hear a noise	isheetowoutahnootoom
He hears a noise	noohtookoopkajoutohatahah
I am twenty years old	tabooinshka aboonhok
To laugh	washkawoo wee
To cry	akketeedaynee
To sing	kadelahbeggayee
To play the fiddle	abbayahjeeshayhaygan

Mountaineer.

Skoffie.

tapoueh	tabanoufkh
nabah	okh
choupoufhououkashen	choopouchououkashen
noofhkoomeeten	nafhkoomeeten
wantooteh	watooteh
chineefheetawoonaten	cheftouounaten
awitfeshintaman	tashtoumah
poofhe	{ poufhepolafhowneeh—come on board the fchooner.
nifquomaho ottook	nebakafhow ottook
namefhquaw ottook	moohtooeet
toomooteeow	neegameejeefhung
neemeejeefhung	noomeejeefhung
tuameejeefhung	nokofhten
nokofteankaheetoocee	tahneshaytayee
tanfhetai	tahnounhee
tanfhelouee fhawafhta	taanafsheepoooonafsheeng
tanfhetafha	meejeefhoomoo
tantechetaing	
nejooofhoomoo	
talleefhalleeenoeeen	
talleetakoonayfheeu	tangeefsheenoueen
talleetooopoopoonayfheen	kaneepoua
naypoo	taantay
tattaytang	tahantefheelookootow
tahanaywaychootooketoo	nafhtooteenah
cheeneefhtakootowenow	cheebecayteenah
cheefhkowwowahnepayeteen	payaytum
payaytow cheefhkowwaynoo	miifhooleenoobooken
miifhellananouh abooken	katowoofteenoo
moofhenen	nooweemahn
nehmahn	maganakamoo
nekahmoo	meefhtoogooofhoonoobelleoy- oochee
fhookahjahooofheh	

GENERAL JOHN WINSLOW'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX, RELATIVE TO HIS CONDUCT, AND THAT OF THE TROOPS UNDER HIS COMMAND, ON THE TICONDEROGO EXPEDITION IN 1756.

Boston, December 30, 1756.

MY LORD,

I DID myself the honour to write your Lordship from the camp, at Beaufejour, on the 27th of June, 1755, of the state I was then in, and the forces from New-England with me, and continued in that service in the province of Nova-Scotia, till the month of March, when his Excellency General Shirley, then commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North-America, ordered me from the command I then had to this place, where was communicated to me a plan for the removal of the French, from the encroachments they had made at Lake Champlain, the reduction of the forts at Ticonderogo and Crown-point, to his Majesty's obedience, &c. to be carried on by the governments of the Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, New-York, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire, by thirteen regiments and a train, to consist of eight thousand five hundred men, officers included, each government finding their own officers; and the men, to induce them to lift, were promised, among other things, that they should serve entirely under such, while his Majesty's regular troops were employed another way. And of this force General Shirley gave me the command as general, and I was confirmed therein by the other governors concerned. And all this preparation was made, and the men in the field before his Majesty's gracious intentions, signified by his secretary of state, Mr. Fox, were known. And this enterprize I readily undertook, as proposed by the governments, and flattered myself that success would crown our endeavours for his Majesty's service. And having things in good forwardness, left this town on the tenth of May, first desiring the several governments to send forward their respective quota, to rendezvous at Albany; and passing through the colonies of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, the governors of which I had

I had some things, relative to the expedition, to settle with, and arrived at Albany the 23d, joined that part of the army that was arrived there. On the 25th, encamped on the north of the city. On the 27th removed our camp to a place called the Half-Moon, on Hudson's river, ten miles above Albany, where, hearing of General Abercrombie's arrival on the last of June, waited on him, Generals Shirley and Webb, &c. and having discoursed them on the method for our future proceedings, I took it to be then settled, that the provincials should go on as originally designed, and the regulars to possess the post we then occupied, and directed my affairs accordingly: but this, it seems, was not taken in that light by all the gentlemen present; that it was a matter only proposed, and not agreed on. And at this camp at Half-Moon we remained till the 14th of July, with the main body, which, when joined, were seven thousand and six men, officers included. And from thence we garrisoned Fort William-Henry, Fort Edward, and the posts at Fort Miller, Saratoga, and Still-Water, where our stores in their removes, which were partly by land and partly by water, were repositied. And our continuance so long at this place was occasioned by our want of a sufficient number of carriages to remove our provisions and stores to the lake; for, had the whole gone forward, all the conveyance we had would have been insufficient to have fed us at that post (so great was the difficulty of transportation) and consequently would have defeated our intended expedition. And from our camp we furnished guards for all carriages, by land and water; parties, great and small, to reconnoitre the country, and to come to the knowledge of its situation, (which I was surpris'd to find so little known,) as well as for keeping the enemy from distressing the inhabitants.

On the 15th we removed our heavy artillery, powder, ball, and ordnance stores of all kinds, with all the carriages that could possibly be procured by the commissioners from all the governments, consisting of about one hundred ox teams, two hundred and seventy waggons, and seventy pair of horses, and a number of boats, with the baggage of the people, guarded by our main body; and being two miles

miles on my march, received a message from General Abercrombie to repair to Albany, on which I left the forces under the command of Major-General Lyman, with orders to continue his march to Fort Edward, and returned to Albany, where the general desired that I would inform him, what effect the junction of his Majesty's forces would have with the provincials, if ordered to join them on this intended expedition. To which I replied, I should be extremely well pleased if such a junction could be made, and that I was under the immediate command of the commander in chief; but apprehended, that if, by the junction, the provincial officers were to lose their command, as the men were raised immediately under them by the several governments, it would cause almost an universal discontent, if not desertion, &c. and desired leave to consult my principal officers on that head, which was done, and their report to General Abercrombie was to the same effect. As soon as this affair was over, returned to the camp, which I joined, at a place called Saratoga, on the nineteenth, and on the next day continued our march for Fort Edward, at which place the main body arrived in the evening, and there encamped, sending orders to Colonel Bagley, who commanded at Fort William-Henry, on the lake, to get ready all our floops, lighters, boats, batteaux, &c. to go on to Ticonderogo, and employed all our teams in transporting across land to the lake (which is fourteen miles) our boats, batteaux, provisions and stores till the 28th, when we removed our train of artillery, powder, &c. and in the evening arrived at Fort William-Henry, and on the next day encamped. On the 3d of August received intelligence of the arrival of his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun; wrote him a congratulatory letter, and gave him an account of our situation; and on the same evening had his Lordship's orders to repair, with some of my principal officers, to Albany; and on the next day set out, as directed, having with me our chief engineer, Colonel Gridley, and a field officer from each government concerned; and after discoursing his Lordship, and other officers of distinction, on the situation of affairs, and the difficulty we were under in regard to our men, his Lordship desired to be informed, in writing,

ing, "whether the troops now raised by the several provinces and colonies of New-England, and armed with his Majesty's arms, would, in obedience to his Majesty's command signifying to them, act in conjunction with his Majesty's troops, and under the command of his commander in chief, in whose hands he had put the execution of all these matters.

We unanimously replied in the words following, viz.—
"My Lord, we do cheerfully submit ourselves to you in all dutiful obedience, and are ready and willing to act in conjunction with his Majesty's troops, and put ourselves under your command, as his Majesty's commander in chief of all his forces in North-America; but as the troops, raised by the several provinces and colonies in New-England, have been raised this year on particular terms, and have proceeded to act thus far under that form, we humbly beg it as a favour of your lordship to let those troops act separate, as far as is consistent with his Majesty's service." Which answer, I apprehended, was agreeable to his Lordship and all concerned; and his Lordship approved of our scheme, and was so good as to tell us, he would afford us all necessary assistance in the execution of it; and after this, set out for our camp at Lake George, where we arrived on the 19th, and gave orders for hastening our batteaux and military stores across land, and found it feasible to carry our cannon, &c. by water to within five miles to the place we proposed to attack, and not practicable to carry them any other way; and employed all hands in getting every thing in readiness as fast as possible, which, when done, were to be joined by our parties from Fort Edward, and the Lower Post, and imagined ourselves to be within a little time of going forward, when I received his Lordship's letter of the 20th, giving me an account of the loss of Oswego, and justly setting forth the fatal consequences that would ensue to the country, if, in proceeding to attack Ticonderogo, we should meet with any misfortune, and that it would be out of his power to stop the enemy from over-running the country, and giving his directions, for the present, not to proceed; but that I, to the utmost of my power, should guard against the enemy's attacking me,

me, or getting into the country by the way of South Bay or Wood-Creek; on the reception of which, we immediately marked out a strong camp, having the fort in our rear, the lake on our right, and a morass on our left, which, by a dam I erected on a stream, I could at any time lay under water, and no ways to be attacked but in our front; and in this camp we strongly entrenched ourselves, and armed our sloops, and put our boats in order, to prevent the enemy's making a descent that way; and were, by these means, masters of the lake. And of all those methods which I took, in obedience to his Lordship's orders, I informed his Excellency, which he was so good as to approve of, and informed me, that the steps which I had taken, in putting forward the fortifications, and of forwarding and arming the vessels, were extremely right. His Lordship also approved of the measures taken by Major-General Lyman, who commanded at Fort Edward. And in this situation we remained during the months of September and October, and were in expectation of a visit from Monsieur Montcalm, from whom we had daily intelligence that he was very strong at Ticonderogo, where he had a large encampment; and our intelligence by our parties sent on discovery, as well as prisoners taken, made him from ten to fourteen thousand men; but of that number I greatly doubt. We kept on with the works on the fort, and parties constantly out, both by land and water, for discovery, which sometimes came to skirmishes; in one of which, we lost a captain, and forty-three men, killed or taken, that were set on by a vastly superior force, whom the prisoners we took, say they dearly bought. His Lordship visited us at our post, and was pleased with our situation.

General Abercrombie arrived at Fort Edward, and detached Major Eyres, with four hundred men, to possess our garrison, who, on the eleventh of November, relieved me in that command; and I having orders from General Abercrombie (under whose direction, after his Lordship's leaving Fort Edward, I acted) to decamp, on the eleventh we marched off with the first division for Albany, as did Major-General Lyman with the second on the seventeenth, leaving our sick in the hospitals, and our heavy

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heavy baggage in stores, (for want of carriages), and also a number of carpenters, masons, &c. for finishing the buildings at the fort, and the whole New-England troops disbanded, saving the artificers and sick; the regiment of New-York still kept up.

Thus, my Lord, as no other person but me has been in the whole of these matters, I have been particular in the transactions of the last season, that your Lordship may be informed of the share the American troops under my command (by the indulgence of his Majesty's commander in chief) have had in these matters; and although we did not attempt Crown-Point, which was the thing principally aimed at by our constituents, yet we are the means of stopping the current of the French forces after their success in carrying Oswego, and thereby the saving of Albany, and a great part of the government of New-York, as well as the Western parts of New-England, which, by their joining their forces at Carilon, was doubtless their intent. These are affairs, the charge of which, together with defending their own lines, are insupportable to these governments; powder and ball, ordnance, and stores of all kinds, being at the cost of the governments; but these are matters properly belonging to them to represent, and I have only hinted at them, and cannot but hope that our proceedings have met with the approbation of Lord Loudoun, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces here, and others our superiors, and will meet with the like favourable acceptance of our Royal Master, when he comes to the knowledge of it, and all others, who wish well to the British interest, of which, to approve myself deserving, is my highest ambition. What satisfaction my constituents may make me, is a thing uncertain, and may remain so for some time.

The steps to be pursued for the future, are yet unsettled. Every thing in my power, for the good of the common cause, shall be prosecuted. Have acquainted the Right Honourable the Secretary of State of these things, and desire your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and am, with the greatest regard, your Lordship's most dutiful,
most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN WINSLOW.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax.

SECRETARY WILLARD'S LETTER TO MR. BOLLAN, AGENT
FOR THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE
TO THE FAILURE OF CROWN-POINT EXPEDITION, AND
REIMBURSEMENT FROM GREAT-BRITAIN.

Boston, March 10, 1756.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letters of the 7th and 14th of November last, which I have laid before the General Court, and they are now under the consideration of a committee of both houses to prepare an answer.

Since the advices you had before the writing of those letters, our affairs in relation to Crown-Point have made no further progress to our advantage, except the better strengthening the two forts built by General Johnson at the carrying place and Lake George. In December last, the whole army was disbanded, excepting seven hundred and fifty men, left to garrison the said forts. Upon his Excellency's return to his government, which was the 30th of January last, he laid before the General Court a plan of operations against the French at Crown-Point, &c.; but the two houses had little heart to proceed in it; not being able to fall into any measures for raising such sums of money, as would be necessary for defraying the charge of the prosecution of the designs projected; having raised four thousand men for the service against Crown-Point the last year, besides about one thousand pounds standing forces for the defence of the province; the greatest part thereby incurred still lying on the province.

But upon advices from home of the great probability of a reimbursement from Great-Britain; the assembly, upon dependence on such reimbursement, have voted to raise three thousand men, and five hundred more on condition of the other colonies doing their part; which will make up the whole number ten thousand men, for the expedition against Crown-Point.

Governor Shirley, with the regular forces under his command, together with some addition of irregulars from the more southern colonies, will carry on another branch of the operation for securing of the dominion of the Lake

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Ontario and Lake Erie, and dislodging the French from the places there, invaded by them.

I thought it proper to give you this short account, it being uncertain whether the public letter will be got ready to go by this ship. I wish you health, and all other prosperity; and remain with great esteem, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

J. WILLARD.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM BOLLAN, AGENT FOR THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF THAT COLONY.

Leicester-Street, April 12, 1759.

SIR,

I HAVE, since my last, given all possible attention to the great question depending before the attorney and solicitor-general, whether the General Court has a power of passing laws of divorce, and whether the acts passed, and referred to them, are not of themselves null and void. Many laws, you are sensible, have been disapproved by his Majesty in council on reasons of policy; but the present question rests wholly upon the point of authority; and as the legislative authority granted by the charter is expressed in the most large and comprehensive terms, plainly comprising, in my opinion, matrimonial matters, as well as any others, which are made the subject of the legislative power of the province, the distinguishing where the charter has not distinguished, and declaring them not to be the proper objects of that legislature, and the acts passed thereupon void in themselves, as from the first moving of this question, appeared to me to be an affair of great importance, especially when considered in its natural operation, and all its consequences. For the investigation of all points relative to this great question, it was plainly necessary, on various accounts, to inquire thoroughly into the origin of the colonies, to examine the Acta Regia passed under the great seal of the kingdom for their establishment, to consider their nature as English colonies, and the rights belonging to them as members of the common-wealth,

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wealth, and the authorities necessary for the enjoyment of those rights, together with the authorities expressly granted ; and also to consider the nature of marriage, adultery, and divorce, according to all the laws and usages that can illustrate the matter, and shew them to be the proper objects of these authorities. In order to the best service of the province, as well as for obtaining some necessary relief for myself, I tried to get assistance from the canon as well as common lawyers, but could get nothing of any considerable value from either of them. The former, by their interest, and otherwise, are disinclined to the temporal courts taking cognizance of matrimonial causes ; and I have found them all, either wholly strangers to the nature of the colonies (one of the chief of them having frankly told me he was shamefully ignorant of them) or under some prejudice concerning them, or some way or other unqualified for my purpose ; wherefore, I resolved to go through the examination of the whole myself.

After searching in vain, at the most likely, public, and other libraries in this town, from Archbishop Tennison's to Sion College inclusive, for some books mentioned by Mr. Selden ; they being part of his library now placed at Oxford, to examine them, and get proper extracts taken, I went thither, being well acquainted with the professor of civil law there ; and having afterwards spent some time in the country, which the care of my health required, where I had the benefit of two good libraries, belonging to gentlemen of my particular acquaintance, I came to town, with an intent to devote myself wholly, or as far as possible, to this business ; and having, after many different searches at the rolls, found and inspected the records of all the grants and charters, with some other matters relating to the colonies, from their first establishment, and taken authentic copies of the chief part of them, and collected a great variety of authors proper for my purpose, in the beginning of October, I sat down to make a close and regular examination and proper disposal of the whole matter, with the necessary preparations upon it. I expected great labour and difficulty ; but, upon trial, I found so many different points necessary to be

be considered, with such a vast variety and multiplicity of matter relative to several of them, that the whole far exceeded my expectation ; and a thorough inquiry into the establishment and constitution of the colonies, and examination of the pontifical and legatine constitutions, and all the œcumenic, national, provincial, and diocesan councils relating to the points of marriage, adultery, and divorce, together with the civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisprudence of different ages and countries, touching those points, has proved a work of exceeding great labour, so that I continued, to the great prejudice of my health, above thirteen weeks, making an incessant application to it, working generally from morning till bed time, avocations absolutely necessary only excepted ; and I have since continued this application as closely as other affairs, and unavoidable intermissions, would permit. I thank God I have got through the examination of the greater part of the whole, and reduced all the matters, relative to some of the points, into pretty good order ; and having collected the chief materials, relating to the other points, I hope I shall be able, in due time, to bring them also into such a state as may suffice to answer the purpose. It would give me great satisfaction to complete and finish the whole, in the most accurate manner ; but this would necessarily be a work of much longer time than I can suppose will be allowed me. I have had the pleasure to find, from ancient records and authorities of various kinds, more plentiful matter, proper for the support of the public rights and authorities, than I at first expected. I think I shall be able to establish effectually the principal points, and am not without hopes of doing the province a piece of lasting service upon this occasion. The probable time, last mentioned to me, for the hearing, was soon after the ensuing Easter holidays ; but I am inclined to think the present state of public affairs will occasion its being somewhat farther postponed, which I shall not be sorry for, my attention to this great affair having for some time past been much broken, frequently diverted to other objects of the public service, and it is needless to say, that whenever it comes under consideration, it will be a work of time to go through the necessary points, and bring the matter to a conclusion. The

The intended parliamentary grant to the colonies has been attended with delays and difficulties, and required many tedious attendances; all money matters, indeed, have laboured under difficulties of late; the last subscriptions to the government come in heavily; stocks are fallen 8 or 9 per cent. in less than so many months; and the kingdom is so far drained of money by the great expense of the war, especially by remittances for its support in Germany, which it is agreed will require the remittance of several millions in gold and silver this year, that Sir John Barnard has proposed the use of a base coin; and upon my complaining, not long since, to a gentleman well acquainted with the interior state of public affairs, of our want of money to prosecute the war, he answered, the government had no money. How far this may have affected the grant to the colonies, I cannot say. Having received intelligence, in various ways, that a grant to the colonies had been talked of before Christmas, immediately after I gave the necessary attendances upon it. On the 11th of January, at Newcastle House, such encouraging things were said to me, touching a speedy and proper grant, by Mr. West, secretary to the treasury, a proper person for this purpose, that I concluded we should have had a considerable grant made, some time past. I used my best endeavours to raise and keep up the quantum of it; and for that end, General Winslow having, from the journals of the House of Representatives, transmitted to him, and from his knowledge of all parts of the province expense, more especially what related to the military services, made an estimate of the whole expense of the province for the last year; after examining and considering it, I made use of that, preparing a brief note of the several parts of it, for the use of those who should not choose to consider the whole; and having the estimate at large ready, Mr. West agreed this would be better for the present purpose, and several were accordingly afterwards delivered, the first being delivered him on the 16th of January, which he, not long after, at the treasury, shewed me, lying in his file of papers to be carried to the House of Commons, one day when it was doubtful whether the grant would then come on there, at the same time saying,
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the estimates from some of the agents were not then come in. For some time, this affair seemed to go on smoothly, and the prospect of obtaining a considerable grant, without delay or difficulty, appeared very fair; but afterwards, those persons, in whose power it was to give it motion, seemed to have cooled upon it, and an inclination to defer, rather than forward it, appeared to take place. The want of accounts from the colonies was mentioned. To avoid the force of this objection, I observed, that the late return of the troops from the campaign, and our General Assembly's being under a prorogation, made it impossible for them to send their accounts. I offered to support the estimate of the province expenses, but no objection was made to it, and urged every thing that I could for obtaining a proper grant; and to collect and express, in the most concise and serviceable manner, the reasons for it. I prepared a memorandum of those reasons in the best manner that I could, to be laid before the Lords of the Treasury, or the Cabinet Council (by whom it was one while said the matter would be considered) or elsewhere; and delivered several of them to Mr. West.— This memorandum was at several times considered by the Lords of the Treasury, and, pursuant to express orders, I attended them divers times thereupon, as well as many others without order; and inclosed, you have a copy of this memorandum, and of the brief note of the estimate. During the former part of this transaction, and when the matter appeared to be in a very fair way, I received a letter from his Excellency the Governor, inclosing a copy of one from him to Mr. Secretary Pitt, wherein his Excellency observed, that the provinces having, or not having in the treasury, the money granted on account of provisions supplied the troops in the year 1756, would greatly promote, or greatly obstruct the measures for raising troops this year. This part of his Excellency's letter gave me no small concern, as the *greatness* of this object did not coincide with the state that I, from first to last, made of the money matters of the province. This letter was sent by Mr. Pitt to the Treasury; but having made no enquiry about it, nor said any thing concerning it, farther than necessity required, being of opinion, it was most serviceable

able to the province to avoid, as much as might be, the mention of its interior contests and divisions, I know not when his Excellency's letter came to the Treasury, nor what influence it had there. At a time when money is extremely scarce, and the demands for it so numerous, and press so hard, those who have demands on the public, which are in any respect uncertain, cannot, I think, possibly provide too well for the support of them. I mention this with regard to the future; so that whoever has the care of the province affairs, its interests may be promoted in the best manner. The want of materials and instructions from the General Court, from whom alone, you are sensible, I can receive the latter, has laid me under difficulties; but I have done my utmost for the province service. It is impossible for me, at present, to give a more particular detail of what has passed relating to this subject; and I shall only add, that on the 6th instant, Mr. West, at Newcastle House, told me, the grant was not absolutely settled; and yesterday, Mr. West being ill and confined, Mr. Martyn, the other secretary, told me, the quantum of the grant was not perfectly settled; that from the whole that had passed, he understood, that the sum to be granted to all the colonies would be about £.200,000, and that the matter would certainly come on in parliament soon after the ensuing holidays. It having been objected by some, that I obtained for the province too great a portion of the sum granted in 1756, the measures now taken, I hope, will be of some service also, when the apportionment of the present grant comes to be made.

Having received orders by way of Lisbon, for remitting the provision money in gold, on the 28th ult. having prepared to make the proper remittance, I applied to the admiralty for orders to be given to the Echo frigate to bring it. Speaking first with the secretary, he supposed, that what I desired could not be granted. I then spoke to Admiral Boscawen, one of the Lords at the Board, and said every thing in my power to obtain the favour desired, but could not prevail. He said, the Echo was under special appointment for a particular service; so that they could by no means order her to proceed to Boston.

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I have not time to add ; but to save the intended conveyance, must conclude directly. And am, with the greatest respect for the Honourable House of Representatives,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

W. BOLLAN.

The Honourable the Speaker.

A MEMORANDUM OF DIVERS PARTICULARS, SHEWING THE EXHAUSTED STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS PROVINCE, AND THE NECESSITY OF A CONSIDERABLE PARLIAMENTARY GRANT, TO RELIEVE ITS DISTRESS, AND ENABLE IT TO ANSWER THE DEMANDS FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN, REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

1. **T**HIS province has very extensive frontiers, and part of it lies near Quebec ; yet notwithstanding its extent, and exposed situation, by due care, it prevented French encroachments, and all occasions of the war, and has since effectually defended the whole. The charge of this defence has always been, and still continues very great.

2. In the beginning of the year 1756, this province was so far impoverished by the charge of the Crown-point expedition, added to the expense of all the measures taken for its own defence, that General Shirley lent it £30,000 public money, without which, it was absolutely impossible for it to raise and send out the troops, necessary for that summer's campaign.

3. The grant made by parliament, February 2d, 1756, occasioned chiefly by the Crown-point expedition, in 1755, had respect to the charge of that expedition, and of the following campaign : but the charge of that expedition, only exceeding the Massachusetts proportion of the sum granted, the raising, pay, arms and clothing of a large number of troops for another expedition, in 1756, brought the province again into a state of great distress ; and the grant made last year, being solely for payment of what the province advanced, by its credit in 1756, for provisions intended to have been supplied by the contractors

tractors with the crown, gave no relief touching the other great expenses of those troops.

4. The impoverished state of the province, in the beginning of the year 1756, being notorious, upon considering that, and the burthens born by it in the course of the war, together with the last year's expenses, which amount to £.178,988 15 6½ sterling, according to the estimate delivered, it is presumed it will plainly appear, this province has strained itself to the utmost, and it is now in an exhausted state; with many pressing demands, of a large body of troops, that returned late from the last year's campaign, and others which it cannot answer.

All which is humbly submitted, &c.

W. BOLLAN.

A BRIEF STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, AS TO ITS CONSTITUTION, NUMBER OF INHABITANTS, LAWS, COMMERCE, POPULATION, CIRCULATING PROPERTY, TENURE OF REAL PROPERTY, SCIENCE, &c. WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1787.

Constitution.] THE constitution of the province is founded on the statute of the 14th of George the third, called the Quebec Bill.

By that bill, the legislative power is vested in the Governor and Legislative Council. This council is composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, and Secretary, for the time being, and twenty other members. They are appointed by the Crown, and receive each £.100 a year as a salary. They consist of near one half French members. Their power extends to almost all the necessary purposes of government, except the levying of taxes, wherein the said statute inhibits, whereby Great-Britain pays the salaries to the counsellors, and all the expenses of the civil list of the province, which amounts to £.25,000 per annum, exclusive of the Governor-General's salary.

This institution has been frequently complained of by the inhabitants, and several petitions have been presented to his Majesty and Parliament for a repeal of the Quebec Bill, and that they may have a liberal constitution granted, similar to the other colonies.

Number

Number of Inhabitants.] The inhabitants were numbered, by order of General Haldimand, in 1783, when they amounted to about 113,000 English and French, exclusive of the loyalists, who have lately settled in the upper parts of the province, to the number of 10,000. These are daily increasing; and vast numbers of loyalists from the different American states, to the number of 15,000, have petitioned for lands, and liberty to remove into the province, to settle and become British subjects. If these are admitted, large numbers of other loyalists from the States will follow them; and it will be in the power of government to settle the greatest part of the vacant land, in the lower parts of the province, in a very short space of time.

*Laws.**] The laws declared to be in force by the Quebec Bill, for the determination of civil rights, are those that were in force under the French government before the conquest. These laws have been found anticommercial, and incompetent to protect and govern the commercial rights; and under them, civil rights are unknown, and property is insecure. These laws have been administered by a Court of Common Pleas, composed of persons not bred to the profession of the law, whose judgments have introduced great discontent, confusion, and disorder in the province. They have been complained of, and many petitions against the laws, and the administration of them, have been presented.

Petitions have also been presented to the Legislative Council (who have the power of altering the laws) for redress; and many attempts have been made, by the English members in Council, to obtain an ordinance for the adopting of the English laws for the regulation of commerce, and the determination of all personal actions between British subjects; but they have not succeeded. The French members of the council have opposed the introduction of English laws, and were joined by two of the

* At the time of passing the Quebec Bill, an instruction from his Majesty accompanied it to the Governor, advising to grant the laws of England to his natural-born subjects, as the rule for decision in all actions grounded upon debts, promises, contracts, and agreements, whether of a mercantile or other nature; and which instruction has been regularly continued ever since.

the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who are members of the Council, and have rejected the same by a majority of two voices.

In the course of the sessions of the Council, in the last winter, another attempt was made to introduce the English laws, agreeable to his Majesty's twelfth instruction to his Excellency the Governor. And a bill was brought in by the Chief Justice, Mr. Smith, for that purpose, and for the introducing the practice of the courts of Westminster-Hall into the courts of Common Pleas in this province, in causes wherein British-born subjects were interested; but this bill was rejected, and not allowed to go to a committee. And another bill was brought in by a French member, which abridged the commerce, and the English subjects of rights they had enjoyed under a former ordinance. The commerce, finding that their property must still continue to be governed by laws to which they were strangers, and anticommercial, applied, by petition, to the Council for a copy of the bill, which was also refused. They, however, having obtained from one of the members a copy of the bill, then presented another petition to be heard by counsel against the passing of the bill, which was granted. And on the 14th of April, their counsel was heard, and the papers annexed, marked A, signed by a committee appointed by the commerce, containing the substance of the argument then delivered, to which papers † is referred for a state of the circulating property belonging to British merchants, which is at least nineteen-twentieths of all the circulating property in the province. For the population, and to those papers, and to papers C and D, is referred for an account of the commerce, twenty-nine thirtieths of which belongs to British subjects.

The furs form the greatest part of the exports from the province. Great part of these, and the most valuable, are brought

* Nineteen-twentieths in value of the property, that is subject to the decision of the courts of justice, belongs to British merchants.

† The charges contained in these papers, and in the petition presented to his Majesty in 1784 against the administration of justice, induced the Governor and Council to cause an investigation of them to be made, and the same was committed to the Chief Justice, which is now near closing.

brought from the interior country, twelve and fifteen hundred leagues westward from the city of Quebec.

Tenure of real property.] The real property in the province is held under the feudal tenure, which existed when the province was under the government of France. By these tenures, the inhabitants are held in a state of vassalage, which, as in all other countries, where lands are held under similar tenures, has impeded agriculture and improvements, and has had a tendency, added to the religion of the country, to keep them in a state of dependence and wretched ignorance.

Agriculture and soil.] The agriculture is the same that it was at the time of the conquest. It is confined chiefly to the raising of wheat, which sells for little more than half a dollar the bushel. The quantity to be exported will increase rapidly, from the immense quantities that will be raised, by the loyalists, up the river St. Lawrence, and that which must come down the Lake Champlain. This branch of agriculture is so far useful to the nation, that it employs a number of shipping to transport it; but the lands in the province might be much more usefully employed in the culture of hemp; perhaps no country in the world is so well calculated for raising hemp. The lands are rich and fertile, and will need little or no manure for many years. The country abounds with marle, which is now used on some of the uplands with success; but the interval lands are abundantly rich without it. This province is, on every account, better calculated for the culture of hemp, than Russia; and there is no doubt but that Great-Britain might be fully supplied with that article from this province, and at a much lower rate than is now paid for it to Russia. But this can never be accomplished until persons acquainted with the culture of hemp are introduced into the province. The first step to effect this desirable purpose, will be granting the lands under the tenure of free and common soccage, which will encourage men, acquainted with all the branches of agriculture, to remove into the province.

Science.] Science in the province, among the Canadians, is at its lowest ebb. Excepting the clergy, and a few Canadian gentlemen, there are no persons who have any pretensions

pretensions to science. Out of the towns of Quebec and Montreal, there are not, upon an average, three men in a parish that can read and write. This extreme ignorance is to be attributed to many causes. It has always been the policy of the clergy to confine knowledge and information within the walls of the church; hence they preserve their dominion over the peasantry.

The only schools in the province are in the cities of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and in the hands of the church. Hereby the clergy have the power of dispensing knowledge to whom they please.

It might have been good policy, under the French government, to keep the inhabitants in this wretched state of ignorance; but it is a question, whether it is good policy under the present government.

The Canadians are to be considered as attached to their former government. Facts, during the late war, clearly support this assertion.

Nothing will have a greater tendency to anglify them, than illuminating their understandings, when they will discern the advantages resulting from the mildness of a British government. To effect this, public free schools ought to be established in different parts of the province, to teach the inhabitants the English language.

The laws of England ought to be introduced; and to make it the interest of the inhabitants to learn the English language, all the proceedings of the courts of law ought to be in English. And every measure should be taken to root out the predilection they still retain for their former king and government.

Great-Britain can have but two objects for retaining the province. The one is the commerce; and the other is founded in policy, from the situation of the province; whenever it is well settled by inhabitants firmly attached to his Majesty, Great-Britain may always hold a rod over the heads of the American states, and keep them in awe.

Commerce.] * The commerce of this province is of some importance. The fur trade of the interior country must be enjoyed without a rival. The easy mode of conveying the goods by water, for the supply of the Indians, must

* For particulars, see papers C, D, E.

must enable the merchants of Canada to undersell the adventurers from the United States.

The fur trade of most importance is what is called the North-West country trade. The river which leads to the communication with that country, is called the Grand River, and empties into St. Lawrence near the island of Montreal. The navigation of this river must ever belong to the inhabitants of Canada, which will give them a monopoly of that trade.

The other branches of commerce will increase in proportion to admission of the British-born subjects into the province; and in few years will give employ to three times the number of vessels that are now in the trade.

The province may not only be made the granary for the other British provinces and islands, and part of Europe, but will amply supply Great-Britain with hemp.

Governors of Canada under France.

CHARLES, Marquis of Beauharnois, commissioned by the King, on the 11th of January, 1725, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France, arrived at Quebec in the month of June of the same year. He continued in Canada until the year 1744. At this time, the marquis of Galessoniere arrived in the capacity of commandant-general; which office he continued to exercise until the year 1746. The marquis of Tonquiere succeeded him, having been commissioned by the King, on the 20th of March, 1746, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France. The marquis Tonquiere died at Quebec in the year 1751.—The baron of Longueuil, governor of Montreal, afterwards commandant-general, exercised his command until the arrival of the marquis Duquaine of Menuville, commissioned by the King on the 1st of March, 1752; and arrived in the month of August. The marquis of Duquaine was relieved, in the year 1756, by the marquis Vaudreuil of Caragnal, commissioned by the king on the 26th of April, 1756, governor and lieutenant-general of New-France.

Governors

Governors of Canada under Great-Britain.

ON the capture of Quebec in 1759, the taking of Montreal, and the final surrender of Canada to General Amherst in September, 1760, the province was under military government. General Amherst left it the same year, and

General James Murray, commander in chief, 1760, till the king's proclamation, October 7, 1763, for creating the four new governments of Quebec, East-Florida, West-Florida, and Grenada. His commission as civil governor bears date the 28th November, 1763; but as all communication with this province, by water, is cut off at that season of the year, he must have received his commission by the way of New-York, which, I think, could not have reached him before February or March, 1764, or it might have been sent to him by the spring ships. The first commission by him, for appointing justices of the peace, is 24th August, 1764. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date when civil government took place.

James Murray, first civil governor, 1764. He left the province the 30th June, 1766, and

Paul Emilius Irwing, president of the council, 1766, assumed the government till the arrival of

Sir Guy Carleton,* lieutenant-governor, September, 1766. His commission is registered in the office of the secretary of the province, the 24th September, 1766, which, I suppose, must have been soon after his arrival. It is dated the 7th April, 1766. Sir Guy went to England, upon a visit, the 9th August, 1770, and

Hector Theophilus Cramahé, president of the council, 1770, was at the head of the government till he was appointed lieutenant-governor.

H. T. Cramahé, lieutenant-governor, 1771. His proclamation, notifying his appointment, is dated the 26th September. His commission is dated 6th June, 1771.

Sir Guy Carleton returned in 1774. Some time after July, as I find in the secretary's office, an act passed in council by Cramahé in that month; the exact time I do not know.

General Frederick Haldimand arrived in August, 1778. His

* Commission as Governor dated 12th April, 1768.

His commission is not registered in the Secretary's office; I am therefore ignorant of the date. Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor, commission 23d April, 1782. General Haldimand left the province the 15th of November, 1784, and

Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor, 1784. He was superseded by

Lieutenant-governor brigadier-general Henry Hope, who entered upon the government 2d November, 1785. His commission is dated 13th August, 1785.

Lord Dorchester, (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), with the title of "Captain-general and governor in chief of the colonies of Quebec, Nova-Scotia, and New-Brunswick, and their dependencies, vice-admiral of the same, general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in the said colonies, and the island of Newfoundland, &c. &c. &c. Arrived the 15th, and sworn in the 16th October. Commission dated 21st June, 1786.

British Property in Canada.

THE circulating property depending on the merchants of Montreal, from estimates taken last January, in the upper country, or Indian trade, *above Cataragui*, is £.300,000 sterling, £.333,333 6 8

The lower country property in the district of Montreal is taken at 218,000 0 0

District Montreal, £.551,333 6 8

Goods and effects in possession of, and debts owing to the body of merchants, and the amount of British circulating property, depending on the said merchants in the District of Quebec,

436,000 0 0

The British property circulating in the fisheries on the Labradore coast, and the fisheries of Gaspée and Chaleur bay, is very great; but much of it is never landed in this province. The amount taken, that is landed and governed by

(Carried over.)

the laws of Quebec, in debts and credits given, is estimated at

30,000 0 0

Circulating property, remaining in Canada, in commerce, and governed by the laws of Canada,

£.1,017,333 6 8

The estimate of lands and houses in Montreal, owned by British subjects, and principally merchants, for carrying on their trade, is

90,000

Like estimate for Quebec,

138,690

228,690 0 0

The estimate of Seigneurolial estates, owned and possessed by British subjects in Canada, will amount to upwards of

140,000 0 0

£.1,386,023 6 8

Amount of imports in 1786, £.325,116 0 0

Amount of exports in 1786, 343,262 19 6

£.668,378 19 6

There are about 15,000 British subjects in the province of Quebec.

Quebec, April 18, 1787.

C

Account of the value of exports from the province of Quebec, for the year 1786.

			£.	s.	d.
Wheat,	103,824 bushels,	4s.	20,764	16	0
Flour,	10,476 barrels,	24s.	12,571	4	0
Biscuit,	9,317 quintals,	13s.	6,056	1	0
Flaxseed,	10,171 bushels,	4s.	2,034	4	0
Oats,	4,015 bushels,	1s. 6d.	301	2	6
Peas,	314 bushels,	4s.	62	16	0
Timber,	706 pieces,	20s.	706	0	0
Mafts,	43	£.5	215	0	0
Staves,	{ 108,647 puncheon,	{ £.5 pr.M.	1,143	5	0
	{ 30,000 pipe,	{ £.20 do.			
Hoops,	44,800	60s. pr.M.	134	2	0
					Shingles,

			£.	s.	d.
Shingles,	112,396	12s. 6d. M.	66	9	0
Boards,	76,791	50s. p. 100,	1,919	14	0
Potash,	1,724 cwt.	20s. p. cwt.	1,724	0	0
Capillaire,	14,944 hhds.	3d.	186	16	0
Essence of Spruce,	141 boxes,	30s.	211	10	0
Glafeng,	24 hhds.	£. 50	1,200	0	0
Horses,	67	£. 10	670	0	0
Shook casks,	2,065	5s.	516	5	0
Cod fish,	1,984 quintals,	13s.	1,280	8	0
Salmon,	233 tierces,	60s.	759	0	0
Salmon smoked,	1,100	1/3	68	15	0
Potatoes,	885 bushels,	1/3	55	6	0
Onions,	400 barrels,	15s.	300	0	0
Pork,	94 barrels,	80s.	376	0	0
Beef,	70 barrels,	60s.	210	0	0
Bran,	354 quintals,	2/6	44	5	0
Oil,	185 tons,	£. 20	3,700	0	0
Fish, furs, and peltries from the coast of					
Labrador, Chaleur-Bay, and Gaspée,					
according to the estimation of lieutenant-governor Cox,					
			60,000	0	0
Furs and peltries, as per particulars here-					
unto annexed, £. 203,378 7 0, sterl.					
			225,977	1	0
			<hr/>		
			£. 343,262	19	6

The loyalists, king's troops, and the fisheries were supplied with flour independent of the above.

Valuation of furs and peltries, exported in 1786.

		£.	s.	d.
6,213 foxes,	9s.	2,845	17	0
116,623 beaver,	8s.	69,600	0	0
48,436 martins,	6s.	14,530	16	0
23,684 otters,	20s.	23,684	0	0
5,959 minks,	2/6	1,199	7	6
3,958 fishers,	5s.	898	10	0
17,713 bear,	30s.	26,569	10	0
		<hr/>		
		£. 139,328	0	6

I

[*Fol. vi.*]

(*Carried over.*)

	Brought over.)	£.139,328 0 6
1,659 cub-bear,	20s. 1,659 0 0	
126,794 deer in the hair,	4s. 25,358 16 0	
5,477 do. half-drest,	2s. p. lb. 547 14 0	
202,919 musquash,	6d. 5,067 19 6	
108,521 racoon,	3s. 16,278 3 0	
2,977 open cat,	5s. 744 5 0	
		49,653 17 6
3,702 cased do.	20s. 3,702 0 0	
7,555 elk,	10s. 3,777 10 0	
12,923 wolves,	10s. 6,461 10 0	
506 wolvering,	15s. 379 10 0	
64 tigers,	12s. 38 8 0	
157 seals,	3s. 23 11 0	
480 squirrels,	6d. 12 0 0	
		14,394 9 0
		<u>Sterling £.203,378 7 0</u>

D.

Account of the value of the imports into the province of Quebec, in the year 1786.

The following are taken from the custom-house books.

Rum,	3932 puncheons,		
	15 hhds.		
	=3939½ punch. at £.16	£.63,032 0 0	
Brandy,	15 pipes	15	225 0 0
Molasses	2133 punch.		
	14 tierces		
	=2138 punch.	10	21,380 0 0
Coffee	243 casks.	8 10	2,065 0 0
Sugar	{ 77 hhds.	25	} 5,269 0 0
	{ 608 barrels,	5 10	
Wines	393 pipes Madeira at £.40 is	£.15,720	
	120 do. Fayal & Ten.	15	1,800
	2213 hhds. Spanish	6	13,278
	140 quar. cks. do.	3 10	490
			=31,288 0 0
			<u>(Carried over £.123,259 0 0</u>

A brief state of Quebec.

59

		(Brought over	£.123,259 0 0
Tobacco	47 casks	£.28 0 0	1,316 0 0
Salt	38,835 bushels	1 6	2,912 0 0
Chocolate	43 boxes	3 0 0	129 0 0
Provisions for	{ Pork 5709 barrels	}	
the troops	{ butter 1564 firkins		

As a particular account of dry goods is not kept at the custom-house, the value of those importations to Quebec have been accurately ascertained by several merchants, who are well informed of the quality and quantity of such merchandize, and have made an average of them for four years, from 1783 to 1786, both inclusive, at the annual sum of £.88,875 sterling,

98,750 0 0

The merchants of Montreal not having time sufficient to make a correct statement of the dry goods imported to that city, their value is ascertained by those of Quebec, which, for various reasons, they must exceed; they are, however, estimated at the same,

98,750 0 0

£.325,116 0 0

Comparative

Comparative View of Imports to, and Exports from, Canada, in Four Years.

IMPORTS.

In the year	Shipping.			Rum.		Brandy.		Molass.		Coffee.		Sugar.		Wine.		Cho-co-late.		Salt.		To-bac-co.		Provisions.					
	Vells.	Tons.	Men.	Punch.	Hogheads.	Pipes.	Hogheads.	Punch.	Tierces.	Calks.	Bags.	Hogheads.	Barrels.	Pipes.	Hogheads.	Or.Calks.	Boxes.	Buttels.	Calks.	Port.	Barrels.	Beef.	Barrels.	Butter.	Porkins.	Flour.	Barrels.
1783	69	8792	724	3156	21	2009	28	1613	91	128	84	264	411	809	2771	678	11	3585	122	1265	220	987					
1784	32	5164	356	179	37	272	5	185	78	56	56	95	92	1885	6	52	1590	29	590	220	4000						
1785	58	8834	586	1420	28	1040	18	1932	86	89	106	54	189	362	1229	17	30	102869	30	3302	1290	736	2278				
1786	74	10006	547	3932	15	15	2133	14	243	77	608	513	2213	140	43	38835	140	6709	1564								

EXPORTS.

	Wheat. Bushels.	Flour. Barrels.	Staves.	Shingles.	Hoops.	Boards and Planks.	Capillarie.	Flax Seed. Bushels.	Cats. Bushels.	Peach. Bushels.	Biscuit. Cwt.	Timber. Pieces.	Mails.	Pot Ash. Cwt.	Ed. Spruce. Boxes.	Ginseng. hhd.	Horties.	Salmon. Pieces.	Smoked Salmon.	Shoof Cakes.	Potatoes. Bushels.	Codfish. Cwt.	Omons. Bush.	Port. Barrels.	Beet. Barrels.	Brum. Cwt.	Oil. Tons.	Cats.	
1783		4086	6966		5000	78610	2978	90			1050	694	50	1228	30	63				304		941						505	1241
1784		7936	25960	3000	7500	41567	2062							1533	95	7				221		2145			7661			100	
1785	3092	2700	251739	49000	21000	85792	800	5612	1243		1080	2302	1225	370	7234				860	1223	5346	111	army stores	432	1700				
1786	103824	10476	138647	112396	44800	76791	14944	10171	4015	374	9317	706	43	1724	341	24	67	1100	253	2063	885	1984	410	94	70	354	185		

EXPORTS CONTINUED.

Furs and Peltries.

Beaver.	Martin.	Otters.	Mink.	Fishers.	Foxes.	Bears.	Cub Bears.	Deers in Hair.	Deer dressed.	Musquash.	Racoons.	Open Cats.	Catd Cats.	Elks.	Wolves.	Beaver Eaters.	Tyger.	Seals.	Squidrels.	Ermine.	Picqueux.	Kie.
In 1783 105467	44119	39699	7221	3817	5446	11596		123123	30648	68209	93832	41975	5536	5626	5838	203	26	8	8	48029		
1784 128620	45973	22435	9634	4608	7260	14903		227568	24232	95773	171066	66939	3927	11238	6237	306	54	4011493				
1785 151249	34496	19835	9332	4415	6432	12839		174434	4944	141118	99159	6336	2731	11113	8232	182	172	1585	31			
1786 116623	48436	23684	9595	3958	6213	17713	1659	126794	5477	202719	108521	2077	3072	7555	12923	506	64	157	480			882496

N. B.—The above accounts of exports and imports are taken from the custom-house books.

Number of Inhabitants, Houses, &c. in the Province of Quebec, taken in the Year 1784.

	Married Men.	Women.	Houses.	Young Men.	Young Wom.	Slaves.	Infirm.	Absentees.	Bushels of Grain, Town & Spring, 1784.	Horses.	Oxen.	Cows.	Young Cattle.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Poultry.			
City & Par. of Quebec.	1116	1355	954	669	1000	651	987	606	41	25	49	1843	363	168	710	112	851	124	481
District of Quebec.	6795	6025	6183	3443	9041	3553	7997	1189	47	125	51	12223	8713	3248	1564	12327	4967	1187	3074
District of Montreal.	10120	9127	9794	4352	11637	3809	10803	4020	212	625	104	21768	17835	12086	23579	16620	33338	4706	5968
Do. of Three Rivers.	2080	2247	2923	912	2874	877	2726	676	4	178	104	39249	3155	1602	3368	3147	10206	6158	1291
	20131	19354	18904	9381	24552	8892	22513	6491	304	893	501	383495	30096	22094	44291	32206	84666	70166	10832

501 Absentees

893 Infirm.

304 Slaves.

6491 Servants.

22513 Young Women, under 15 Years old.

8892 Young Women, above 15 Years old.

24552 Young Men, under 15 Years old.

9381 Young Men, above 15 Years old.

19354 Women.

113012 Souls in the Province of Quebec, according to the above account, which was taken, by order of Gen. Haldimand, in the course of the Summer, 1784. ————— City and Parish of Quebec contains 6475 Inhabitants.

CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1704
TO THE REVOLUTION; IN A LETTER FROM ONE OF
THE MEMBERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

SIR,

I SAID, that five American newspapers were published in Boston before any other town encouraged one; I ought to confine my observation to New-England, for the *Weekly Mercury*, by Andrew Bradford, was published, in Philadelphia, about the year 1720. Some remarks were made upon our legislature in this paper, which might come from the pen of Dr. Franklin, though they were not allowed to issue from the Franklin press. As it is curious to learn the state of things and men's opinions, in this country, seventy years ago, especially concerning the freedom of printing, I shall transcribe the proceedings of our General Court, with the critical remarks of the Philadelphia printer.

*"In the Great and General Court of Massachusetts,
January 14, 1722.*

"The committee appointed to consider of the paper called the *New-England Courant*, published Monday 14, are humbly of opinion, that the tendency of the said paper is to mock religion, and bring it into contempt; that the holy scriptures are therein profanely abused; that the faithful ministers of the gospel are injuriously reflected upon; his majesty's government insulted; and the peace and good order of his majesty's subjects of this province disturbed, by the said *Courant*; and, for the prevention of the like offence in future, the said committee humbly propose, that James Franklin, the printer and publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden to print or publish the *New-England Courant*, or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the secretary of this province; and the justices of his majesty's sessions of the peace for the county of Suffolk, at their next adjournment,

adjournment, are directed to take sufficient bonds of the said Franklin for his good behaviour for twelve months time.

"Per order of the committee. WILLIAM TAYLOR,

"In council, January 15, 1722. Read and accepted—
Sent down for concurrence. J. WILLARD, Secretary.

"January 16, 1722. Read and concurred. JOHN CLARK, Speaker.

"Consented to. WILLIAM DUNMER.

"A true copy. Examined by J. WILLARD, Secretary."

This was reprinted in the Philadelphia Mercury, with the following remarks.

"To punish first, and then inquire, as Lord Coke observes, the law abhors. But here Mr. Franklin has a severe sentence passed upon him, even to the taking away part of his livelihood, without being called upon to give an answer. An indifferent person would judge by this vote against *Couranto*, that the assembly of the province of Massachusetts-Bay are made up of oppressors and bigots, who make religion the only engine of destruction to the people: and the rather, because the first letter in the Courant of January 14, which the assembly censures, so naturally represents and exposes hypocritical pretenders to religion. Indeed the most famous politicians of that government (as the infamous governor Dudley, and his family) have ever been remarkable for hypocrisy; and it is the general opinion, that some of their rulers are raised up to be a scourge in the hands of the Almighty for the sins of the people.

"Thus much we could not forbear saying, out of compassion to the distressed people of the province, who must now resign all pretences to sense and reason, and submit to the tyranny of priestcraft and hypocrisy.

"P. S. By private letters from Boston, we are informed, that the bakers are under great apprehensions of

K [Vol. vi.] being

being forbid baking any more bread, unless they will submit to the secretary, as supervisor-general and weigher of the dough, before it is baked into bread, and offered for sale."

Bradford's paper was sent to Boston, and circulated among those who took the side of Mr. Franklin against the court; and the same writers, who had offended, continued the same strain of offence in the *Courant*, only the name of the printer was changed from *J.* to *B. Franklin*.

In this day of political altercation and religious indifference, we may read many pieces more severe against the clergy, and more pointed against the government. They amounted to little more than a complaint of governor *Shute's* going to England, when certain politicians, in and about Boston, thought he ought to have remained in the province. The governor was a very pious man, and most of the characters in office were professors of religion. It has been common for those who make no pretensions to seriousness, to call such men hypocrites; and unhappily they find characters, who sit with men of integrity, to be deserving of the name; for in every place, where gold and silver have a currency, there is much counterfeit coin.—The editors of the *Courant*, and their coadjutors, were free-thinkers. A club of them joined the *Franklins*, attacked the prejudices of the people, and found fault with the government. Particular persons were pointed out as authors of the offensive pieces, and in order to bring the public odium upon them; some of whom gained a literary character from this circumstance, who never were capable of writing these letters or essays; but were as ignorant of the authors, as those who blamed them.

The old paper, or *Boston News-Letter*, and the *Boston Gazette*, were vehicles of foreign and domestic intelligence, rather than of party zeal, and abuse of magistrates.

I have been able to obtain more accurate accounts of the date of these than I gave in my last letter.

No. 1 of the News-Letter was published	April 24, 1704,
of the Gazette,	December 18, 1720,
of the <i>Courant</i> ,	July 17, 1721,
of the Weekly News-Letter,	January 5, 1727,
of the New-England Journal,	March 27, 1727.

Mr.

Mr. Campbell, the post-master, was editor or publisher of the old paper eighteen years from its first emission, Mr. B. Green was the printer. Mr. Campbell left the post-office, yet continued the paper till the year 1722. Mr. Green then continued to print it; and he was succeeded by J. Draper, in whose family it continued till the American revolution.

The *Gazette* was first published by James Franklin, and was connected with the post-office. It took the device of a ship, and the post-boy with his horn, till another post-master was attached to another printer, which was the case when Mr. Husk came into office; then the paper, which took the name of *Post-Boy*, was first published with the same device.

The *Boston Gazette* was printed by Franklin, Kneeland, and B. Green, jun. for the several post-masters, P. Mulgrave, Thomas Lewis, and H. Marshal.

The *Courant* was published by J. Franklin; afterwards by Benjamin, so much celebrated since for his scientifick researches.

The *Weekly News-Letter* was published and printed by Mr. Green, who confined his other paper, the *News-Letter*, which had grown somewhat venerable for its age, to matters of intelligence, and was willing to oblige his customers, as he says, or to gain subscribers, by inserting such things as gave a reputation and circulation to the other newspapers then printed in the town, and which had grown into fashion. This was afterwards united with the old paper, and then it was called the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*. It was combined with the *Massachusetts Gazette* in the month of September, 1769, which then took the name of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*, published by R. Draper, with the arms of the province, he being one of the printers of the court.

I have not been able to learn when the *Boston Gazette* ceased. It was no longer the post paper when the *Post-Boy* took its device; but it was continued till the weekly number exceeded 1600, and printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green, and called the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*. It preserved the device of the ship; and instead of the boy with the horn, had a sketch of the town, the old state-house, &c. I rather suppose that this paper continued to the

the close of the year 1752, because Mr. T. Green went to Connecticut about this time; and the year 1753 began with another paper, printed by S. Kneeland, called the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*. The only difference in the title is exchanging *Journal* to *Advertiser*; but the device is new, and the paper begins number one.

I shall leave this for the present, and mention the *New-England Journal*, as being the fifth paper of New-England, and which was published many years by the same printers, Messrs. Kneeland and Green, who afterwards printed the *Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal*; they doubtless combined the two, and it was so named to preserve the old papers. A very particular account of the *New-England Journal* was given in my last. It was certainly the best of the publications at that time, and has been equalled by few since.

But we cannot help saying, that either the taste of the town was improved, or the abilities of the people enlarged, to support five newspapers in this place; or else, Athenian like, they would be always inquiring after something new. A few years before, Dr. Franklin says, the country could not give sufficient encouragement to a second paper.

Party spirit stimulates, and gives elasticity to all the powers of the mind, whilst it changes the manners of a people: when it operates, all nice calculations and economical principles fall prostrate, or lose their influence. The disputes concerning the governor's salary, and his power to negative the speaker, were agitated with warmth, and supplied matter to employ the minds and pens of the learned, and to gratify the tongues of the idle. Private bickerings will also increase, where there is much food for political altercation. It is an easy thing for any man to think himself greatly interested in the public concerns. Post-masters, printers, editors, were somewhat officious from the nature of their business; they fell into angry disputes, and had their friends to meddle with the contention; to say nothing of authors, who love to write, and often have their expectations frustrated when they think they are gaining reputation. Whatever was the cause, the fact was, that a certain number of newspapers were

were published in this town of Boston before other places of New-England could give encouragement to one such publication.

We may remark, however, that Boston was not only the capital of Massachusetts, but the town most celebrated of any in North-America. Its trade was extensive, and the name often stands for the country in old authors. To come from the *new settlement*, or from *Boston*, was one and the same thing at later periods than we are now making mention of. It took many years of the present century to gain a rival; though now we see several, that not only approach this place, once chief among the provinces, in population; but go far beyond it, in numbers, business, wealth, and splendor.

A sixth newspaper, edited by that eminent lawyer, J. Gridley, was published in Boston before the *Rhode-Island Gazette*; which, I observed in my last, was the next in New-England. Newport was then a very flourishing place. It was, for many years, the second town in New-England; but began to decay as the town of Providence increased; and since the revolution of our country, it has put on a very solitary appearance.

The next public paper printed in Boston, after the *Rehearsal*, was the *Evening-Post*, of which I formerly gave an account; then succeeded the *Post-Boy*; then the *Independent Advertiser*, by Rogers and Fowle; the first number in 1748; which was supported by the whigs, who gave a device indicative of their principles, a bird let loose by the hand of Britannia, or the goddess of liberty. It was thus designed; but may as well represent America in the character of a female, active in doing good, profuse of her favours, and pregnant with blessings for future times.—The famous *Boston Gazette*, published for many years by Edes and Gill, and some time by Benjamin Edes, had this device on one side, with an aboriginal of the country on the left. The figure of the lady, giving freedom to the bird, was retained; but the impression of the savage was set aside after the first year.

Mr. Fowle, the printer of the *Advertiser*, was thrown into prison for a satire on the General Court, when the excise bill passed the house of representatives in 1754.—

He

He gives an account of this, and his imprisonment, which he chose to suffer, rather than expose the authors of the pamphlet, called *the Monster of Monsters*, and written by a club of the most celebrated wits of this country, who were very well known, but escaped legal censure. *Dis veniam corvis censura vetat columbis.* Mr. Fowle always thought himself injured, and for many years expected satisfaction; but whether his friends wanted seal, after serving themselves with his assistance, and gaining their point; or the cause was less just than he imagined, his hopes were blasted, and the poor man had but empty praise, instead of the solid advantage which had been promised, or which he flattered himself that he should receive.

The first number of Edes and Gill's paper was published in April, 1755.

This newspaper has been much celebrated; it has been, and will be a treasury of political intelligence for the historians of this country. Otis, Thacher, Dexter, Adams, Warren, and Quincy, Drs. Samuel Cooper and Mayhew, stars of the first magnitude in our northern hemisphere, whose glory and brightness distant ages will admire; these gentlemen of character and influence offered their first essays to the public through the medium of the *Boston Gazette*; on which account the paper became odious to the friends of prerogative; but not more disgusting to the tories and high church, than it was pleasing to the whigs. Edes and Gill printed this paper till the year 1775, when the situation of this town made it necessary to separate, and they never renewed the partnership. Mr. Gill carried on a paper, and called it the *Country Journal*; and Mr. Edes printed the *Boston Gazette* till the year 1798, when, in a formal address, he took leave of the public.

Green and Russell published the *Weekly Advertiser*, in the month of August, 1757. This was connected with the post-office, and had the same device with the *Post-Boy*, *the ship and the rider with the horn*. They soon exchanged the name, or rather combined it with the *Advertiser*. They also published another paper by authority, with the

state

State arms. This was called the Massachusetts Gazette, published every Monday, as Draper's was every Thursday.

In the month of October, 1769, the Massachusetts Gazette and Post-Boy and Advertiser were combined, and became one paper. It was doubtless more agreeable to subscribers to have one newspaper, than two different papers half the price each; and it was more convenient for the printers, who had less trouble, from having the subscribers less separated. A few individuals might subscribe for an half sheet, and not be able to go farther; this could be the only inducement to publish two separate half-sheets the same day; but, on the whole, the presses, which did this, were fully persuaded of its inconvenience, and in the same year united the two parts into one complete sheet, preserving the name of *each*. And since that time, our printers have found it more for their interest to print several papers per week, than to divide the intelligence of a single day.

The *Boston Chronicle*, printed by Mein and Fleming, was first published December, 1767. It continued only two years. A fair type and paper, extracts from some of the most celebrated books in Europe, hardly known then in America, and some whole pamphlets circulated through this paper, made it more valuable as a literary production, than most other periodical publications. It was really a work entertaining and useful for some time, till the absurd politics of its *patrons*, and gross ribaldry of the editors, made it appear like a vehicle of slander, rather than a pure font of intelligence. The majesty of the people was insulted; those characters, in whom they placed the greatest confidence, and some of whom have since sacrificed their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, were calumniated; nor was the spirit of calumny more virulent than the language was indecorous. Mein's character sunk with his paper. As a mercenary scribbler, he was employed to asperse the character of the Americans in some of the London papers; but he was soon discovered to be the writer, and his former conduct exposed. From *such a man* the scurrility lost its point, and all its force.

There was another paper on the *tory side* of the question,

tion, published by Mills and Hicks, and supported by some of the best writers in defence of the taxation of the colonies. Twenty papers, signed *Massachusettensis*, afterwards collected into a pamphlet, were said to excel, on account of the subtlety of the argument, as well as its plausible manner and elegant style; they were imputed to the attorney-general of the province, and also to a lawyer of some eminence, who at that time took a decided part on the prerogative side, but who had been a leading character of the whigs.* Several British officers wrote in the gazette of Mills and Hicks, willing to show their prowess in the field of political controversy before the time arrived for their military genius to blaze. This paper contained as much European news, and useful speculations upon common affairs, as to give it a very prominent figure among the respectable newspapers published at that time. I never saw the papers after the war commenced; and probably the writers became more acrimonious in their language, and unjust in their censures. For the sake of the information they contain of the spirit of the times, the abilities and industry of the writer, I wish we had a set in our library; it is a *desideratum*, as it would go a considerable way towards our completing the collection of newspapers.

One paper more must be mentioned, though it is but little known; but it was printed to show the strength and zeal of the party, and soon lost among other ephemeral productions of the times, though it promised great things at the beginning. Certain of the first characters had agreed to support it, not only by encouraging the circulation, but by driving the quill in what they called the good cause of Britain, and the men who were in authority at that time in the province. It was a paper confined to politicks, without any particular information of occurrences.

* *Massachusettensis* was ably confuted by a writer in the *Boston Gazette*, who took the signature of *Nov-Anglus*, who not only states the arguments in favour of the rights of the colonies, but gave an interesting account of the proceedings of the *British cabinet*, in connexion with the officers of the Crown in America.

Whoever reads *Weare's* letter to a noble lord, in the first vol. of the *Historical Collections*, must see how just were the observations of *Nov-Anglus*, and be charmed with the political sagacity of the author.

rences, foreign or domestic. It was called the *Censor*, and published every Saturday, by Ezekiel Russell. It was designed to make up several folio volumes, but soon failed. One volume only was completed, containing seventeen numbers, one sheet each. A second volume commenced, and progressed but three numbers. The editor was a gentleman of this town; a writer very florid, but not elegant nor judicious. Yet it has been suggested by some persons, since the revolution, that Dr. Church was hired by government to publish the *Censor*; and that the Tories depended upon the success of the pen, with the documents in the hands of this *Janus-like politician*. But there is no sufficient evidence that Dr. Church ever left the Whigs till the war commenced. The intrinsic evidence is a demonstration against his being concerned in editing this paper, who was certainly one of the best writers of this country, whatever his character might be in other respects.

The first number of the *Censor* is November 23, 1771. At this time, the *Massachusetts Spy* was growing into high repute; a more violent class of politicians filled this paper with their speculations than the Whigs who wrote in the *Boston Gazette*, who were experienced statesmen, and had a particular object in view; to make people understand the nature of government, the rights of the colonies, the oppressions of Great-Britain, and the virtues necessary to promote social order with the principles of liberty. A more disorganizing spirit prevailed among those who wrote for the *Massachusetts Spy*; and who were, most of them, young men of genius, without experience in business, or knowledge of the world; some of whom, perhaps, had no principles to actuate them; or were enthusiasts, if they had principle; and wanted judgment where their virtue did not fail. Any one who reads a periodical work, styled the *Centinel*, in forty numbers, which was highly celebrated, and some other pieces of a similar nature, will now see, that the same spirit and principles lead to a dissolution of all society, and like more modern publications, *on equality and the rights of men*, are direct attacks at all authority and law; and being carried into effect, would have made confusion here, as they have since

dissolved the governments, and desolated the fair fields of Europe. The *Massachusetts Spy* was printed at Worcester during the war; it became a more useful and excellent paper, and did infinite service, in diffusing a knowledge of facts, and some of the best written pieces that have appeared in our American periodical publications.

The printer deserves great credit, and has received much applause for his industry and enterprising spirit, which have led to very considerable improvement in the line of his business, and gained him the name of the *American Baskerville*.

A piece, signed *Mutius Scævola*, in the 37th number of the *Spy*, printed in Boston, 1771, was republished by the editor of the *Censor*; and some remarks upon, and an address to Mutius, filled three papers. Mutius declared the province to be without a governor, proclaimed Hutchinson an usurper, and called on the council to take upon themselves, according to charter, the government of the province. This ebullition of political zeal, or democratic resentment, was not pleasing to the whigs in general, who had no occasion to leap precipices, when they had a straight path to the object in view; and it kindled the flames of war in the minds of the tories. But their defender wanted prudence and skill, who attempted such mighty things in the papers of the *Censor*.

A more judicious writer then entered the lists, who was then the second in the chair of government. Lieutenant-governor *Andrew Oliver* wrote seven numbers, under the signature of *Freeman*; and levelled his argument, not only against Mutius, but all who held such principles of the government, as many other writers propagated, and which were the leading sentiments of the opposers of the administration.

As people had taken their sides, few were convinced or converted by the tory writers; and what good they were able to do for their cause, was more likely to be done through the *Massachusetts Gazette*, and the like papers, that admitted publications against the conduct and opinions of the majority of this people. The last number of the *Censor*, which was published, was sometime in the month of May, 1772.

There

There was no other paper published during this time in Boston, than those we have mentioned, when the war commenced; *the Evening Post*, *Boston Gazette*, *Mills and Hicks's Massachusetts Gazette*, on Mondays. *The Massachusetts Gazette*, by Draper, and *Massachusetts Spy*, on Thursdays. The number of newspapers had not increased in the town as we should expect; but other places, beside Boston, had their weekly papers, and some of them a circulation equal to any published here. Mr. Hall published the *Essex Gazette* in 1768, and continued it till the revolutionary war.*

There was also a newspaper published at Newburyport by Thomas and Tinges.

In New-Hampshire, at Exeter, there was an attempt to print a paper; but it did not meet with sufficient encouragement. This was by Fowle, a relation of the printer of the *Gazette* at Portsmouth.

In the town of Portsmouth, also, another paper was set up by E. Russell, who afterwards printed the *Censor* in Boston. It was called the *Mercury*, and soon failed.

At Newport, Rhode-Island, Mr. James Franklin (son of Mr. James Franklin, before mentioned) commenced, in 1758, the publication of the *Newport Mercury*. Mr. Franklin died in 1762; but the paper was continued, under the direction of his mother, for a few weeks; after which, till 1768, it was published by S. Hall. This paper (edited by him during those tumultuary times occasioned by the British American stamp-act) was patronized by the most distinguished whigs in that colony; among whom were the learned Dr. Stiles, the Elleries, the Wards, the Vernons, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Marchant. These gentlemen rendered essential service to their country by many excellent publications in the *Mercury*; and the editor, Mr. Hall, was, of course, rancorously persecuted by the tories for printing them. The famous Virginia Resolves made

* In the year 1775, from the commencement of the war to the removal of the American army from Cambridge, he published the *New-England Chronicle* in Cambridge, and afterwards in Boston; which contained the best account of things, connected with the state of the armies in this part of the country, that we can find in a newspaper. He afterwards printed the *Salem Gazette*, a most excellent repository of intelligence, till the year 1785, when he removed to Boston.

made their *first* appearance in this paper, at least in New-England; and the *publisher* of them was considered, by the enemies of the colonies, as having committed an act of treason. The *Mercury* is still continued.

I have been able to procure a very accurate list of Connecticut newspapers to the present time, by the assistance of a worthy member of our Society, Noah Webster, whose letter I add to my account.

"In pursuance of your request, I have procured from Mr. Thomas Green, the oldest printer in Connecticut, the following information.

"1. The first newspaper published in Connecticut was the Connecticut Gazette, begun at New-Haven, January 1, 1755, by James Parker, who afterwards discontinued the publication, and moved to New-York, where he established the printing business.

"2. * The second paper, called the *New-London* (or *Connecticut*) *Gazette*, was first published at New-London, by Timothy Green, in 1758. The publication has been continued under another title, and is now continued by his son, Samuel Green.

"3. The third paper is the *Connecticut Courant*, first published at Hartford, by Thomas Green, in 1764, and continued by Ebenezer Watson, who died during the revolution war; since which the paper is continued by Hudson and Goodwin.

"4. Mr. Thomas Green relinquished the *Courant* in 1767, removed to New-Haven, and, in the same year, commenced the publication of the *New-England Journal*, which is still continued by Thomas and Samuel Green.

"5. The *Norwich Packet*, published by John Trumbull, was begun in 1773, and is continued.

"These are all which had an origin anterior to the revolution.

"6. The

* The printer of the Collections informs the author of this narrative, that he thinks this paragraph would stand more correct if written as follows.

"The second paper, called the *New-London Summary*, was first published at New-London, by Timothy Green, in 1758. After his decease, his nephew, of the same name, continued the publication under the title of the *New-London Gazette*; and it is now continued by Samuel Green, son of the last Timothy Green."

"6. The *American Mercury* was begun at Hartford, by Messrs. Barlow and Babcock, in 1784, and is continued by Mr. Babcock.

"7. The *Litchfield Monitor* was established at Litchfield, in 1784, by Messrs. Collins and Cop, and is continued by the first partner.

"8. The *Middlesex Gazette* was established at Middletown, 1785, by Messrs. Woodward and Green, and is continued.

"9. The *Windham Herald* was first printed in 1799, and is continued by John Byrne.

"10. The *Farmer's Journal* was begun at Danbury about 1790, by Messrs. Douglass and Ely, and is continued by Mr. Douglass.

"11. The *American Telegraph*, at Newfield, a village three miles from Stratford, was begun in 1794, by Beach and Jones, and is continued by the first partner.

"12. The *Ghelsea Courier*, at Norwich landing, was begun in 1796, by Thomas Hubbard, and is continued.

"13. The *Oracle*, by James Springer, was begun in New-London in 1796, and is continued.

"14. The *Bee*, by Charles Holt, was begun at the same place, 1797, and is continued.

"15. The *Impartial Herald* was published in 1797, at Suffield, by Messrs. Farnsworth, and is discontinued.

"16. A paper has been lately published at Stonington, Point, by Samuel Trumbull; but I am not informed of the title.

"All these papers are continued, except the first and fifteenth; so that, in Connecticut, there are now published fourteen newspapers.

"In 1784, Messrs. Meigs, Bowen and Dana commenced the publication of the *New-Haven Gazette* in quarto, a paper that was well esteemed; but, in a few years after, was discontinued. Other papers have been begun, but have not gained an establishment."

Mr.

MR. DUMMER'S LETTERS TO MR. FLINT.

SIR,

I AM now attending on the house of commons about our Canada bills; and having a little interval, I step in to one of the coffee-houses to write to you, because I remember I am in debt to you for several letters. Your last, of the 11th of January, I have in my pocket; it came by Mr. Wendal, who seems to me a very modest worthy man, whom I shall be glad to serve, for his own sake, as well as for yours, and others that recommend him. What colonel Byfield says of me, as well as of Sir William Ashhurst, is false; and I can assure you I found him out in a good many lies whilst he was here, notwithstanding he is ever nauseously boasting of his honesty. As for his honour's negativing me, he may do what he pleases, but I would have him consider that public places are held by a very slight and uncertain tenure, and that it is ill policy in him to make any body his enemy. I have now had the honour of serving my country about five years; and I can say, with great truth, that I have ever pursued the interest of my country with zeal and fidelity, and with an anxiety that one seldom feels, but in one's own private and nearest concerns. And now I am to leave it, I can apply to myself the words which our celebrated Chauncy used of his presidency: *Peritiorem certe hominem et multis modis aptiorem facile est invenire, sed amantiorem et vestri boni studiosiorem profecto non invenietis.*

I have given your service to the gentlemen you mention, who return theirs to you. I wish you all happiness; and am, very sincerely, Sir,

your faithful humble servant,

JER. DUMMER.

MR. FLINT.

Westminster, 1st month, Martii, 1715.

DEAR SIR,

MR. Hiller gave me the sight of a letter, in which you desired my direction in the buying some sermons

mons for you. I was glad of this opportunity to serve Mr. Flint, and therefore took some pains in collecting them; and I hope they will please you; though I must own to you, that I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or brightness in the style; I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses which Mr. Brattle gives you every week. Indeed I could have bought you some better than these you have; but Mr. Hiller confined me to penny sermons.

For the affair of the college, with respect to the legacy left you, Col. Taylor will tell you I assisted in it to the uttermost of my power; and when I found it was impossible to gain the whole for the college, I moved the Lord-keeper, that as little might go to a school as was possible; and what must, might be settled on the school at Cambridge. I shall be always proud to serve the college, to which both my duty and my inclination lead me. Pray give your worthy president my humble service, and tell him I don't write him about this matter, because Mr. Newman will do it ex officio.

I beg you will remember me, with great respect, to my excellent and ever honoured tutor, Mr. Brattle; and let him know, that I wrote to him by Capt. Taylor; which letter I hope he will have before you have this.

In the midst of the noise and hurry which attend my station at court, I often think of your happy collegiate life, where you have a sweet air, good company, time to study, and a calm retreat from the business and vexatious cares of life. I was once so happy myself; which, when I look back upon, I cannot forbear wishing

Ut redeant multi sic mihi sæpe dies.

But wishes are vain; and it makes me easy in my station, because it is what the providence of God, in answer to my own desires, has appointed me; and because I have hereby an opportunity to serve my country, which is the highest honour any man can arrive to.

Dear Sir, I wish you many happy years; and

I am, very truly,

your most affectionate, humble servant,

JER. DUMMER.

Westminster, 5th May, 1711.

JAMES CUDWORTH'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOSEPH
WINSLOW, DECLINING HIS APPOINTMENT TO A MILI-
TARY COMMAND

MUCH HONOURED;

MY service and due respects being presented; yours of the 19th of December, 1673, came to my hands the last day of that month; wherein your honour acquainted me, that the General Court, by a clear vote, have pitched upon myself to command an hundred men, in joining with the rest, in prosecuting the expedition against the Dutch; and hitherto I have been silent in returning your honour an answer, partly because, though there is some preparation, yet no determination, of any sudden going forth; neither, indeed, will the season admit of such an undertaking at present; also the many urgent occasions and pressing necessities of my own, has longer detained me than indeed has been meet. Hoping those considerations, though they will not justify, yet they may, in some measure, excuse my neglect herein. Concerning the design, how well grounded and warranted such an undertaking is, to me seems doubtful; peradventure it may be my ignorance; and I do apprehend we are in great straight; but whether to sit still, or to be doing, will be best, it is too hard for any to determine. But whether we do the one, or the other, trouble and disquietment threatens to be our portion. However, it does behove all, that are to be principal actors in such a design, to be clear in themselves, not only concerning the lawfulness, but also how expedient such an undertaking may be; then they may, with more comfort and courage, manage that part of the works they are designed unto. Sir, I do unfeignedly and most ingenuously receive the Court's valuation and estimation of me, in preferring me to such a place. It is not below me, or beneath me, (as some deem theirs to be), but is above me, and far beyond any desert of mine; and had the Court been well acquainted with my insufficiency for such an undertaking, doubtless I should not have been in nomination; neither would it have been their wisdom to hazard the cause and lives of their

their men upon an instrument so unaccomplished for the well-management of so great concern. So being persuaded to myself of my own insufficiency, it appears clearly and undoubtedly unto me, that I have no call of God thereunto; for *vox populi* is not always *vox Dei*; and therefore I cannot, in any thing, give a more full and real demonstration of my loyalty and faithfulness unto my king and country, than in declaring my unsuitness for the acceptance of the management of such a design; and should I embrace and accept of the call, knowing my own insufficiency for the work, what should I less, than what in me lies, but betray the cause and lives of men into the hands of the enemy. Learned, judicious, and worthy Mr. Ward, in his animadversions to war, says, that the experience of a captain hath been the ruin of armies; and destruction of commonwealths; and that, in the time of peace, every brave fellow desires to be honoured with the name and charge of a captain; but when war is approaching, and the enemy at hand, they quake, their swords out of their scabbards, and had rather make use, in fight, of their wings, than of their talons. Beside, it is evident unto me, upon other considerations, I am not called of God, unto this work, at this time.

The estate and condition of my family is such, as will not admit of such a thing; being such as can hardly be paralleled; which was well known unto some, but it was not well nor friendly done as to me, nor faithfully as to the country, if they did not lay my condition before the Court. My wife, as is well known to the whole town, is not only a weak woman, and has so been all along; but now, by reason of age, being sixty-seven years and upwards, and nature decaying, so her illness grows more strongly upon her, never a day passes, but she is forced to rise at break of day, or before; she cannot lay for want of breath; and when she is up, she cannot light a pipe of tobacco, but it must be lighted for her; and until she has taken two or three pipes, for want of breath, she is not able to stir; and she has never a maid. That day your letter came to my hands, my maid's year being out, she went away, and I cannot get nor hear of another.—And then, in regard of my occasions abroad, for the tend-

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ing and looking after all my creatures, the fetching home my hay, that is yet at the place where it grew, getting of wood, going to mill, and for the performing all other family occasions, I have none but a small Indian boy, about thirteen years of age, to help me. Also, a man that goes forth upon such a design, ought to set his house in order, and to settle his outward estate, so as though he never were to return again. And your honour knows how I am blocked up there in respect of the difference and contest betwixt my brother Hoare and myself, which behoves me to stand as it were upon my guard, to defend my just interest; and if God should take me away, my poor family, in all likelihood, cannot expect but to be great sufferers by him. Sir, I can truly say, that I do not in the least wave the business out of any discontent in my spirit, arising from any former difference; for the thought of all which is, and shall be, forever buried, so as not to come in remembrance, though happily such a thing may be too much fomented; neither out of an effeminate or dastardly spirit; but am as freely willing to serve my king and my country as any man whatsoever, in what I am capable and fitted for; but do not understand that a man is so called to serve his country with the inevitable ruin and destruction of his own family; neither indeed can it be imagined, that such an one can manage his business with any comfort and courage abroad, when, by reason of his absence, things are like to succeed so ill at home; neither can he expect a blessing of God upon his undertakings. These things being premised, I know your honour's wisdom and prudence to be such, as that you will, upon serious consideration thereof, conclude, that I am not called of God to embrace the call of the General Court. Sir, when I consider the Court's act, in pitching their thoughts upon me, I have many musings, what should be the reasons moving them thereunto; I conceive it cannot be, that I should be thought to have more experience and better abilities than others; for you, with many others, do well know, that when I entered upon military employ, I was very raw in the theoretick part of war, and less acquainted with the practical part; and it was not long I sustained my place, in which I had occasions

sions to bend my mind and thoughts that way; but was discharged thereof, and of other public concern; and therein I took *vox populi* to be *vox Dei*; and that God did thereby call and design me to sit still, and be sequestered from all public transactions; which condition suits me so well that I have received more satisfaction and contentment therein, than ever I did in sustaining any public place. You also well know, that there are many settled and established military commission officers in this colony, who have sustained their place double and treble the time I sustained mine, which doubtless has given them large and fair opportunity to gain more experience, and to attain greater experience in military affairs than, in reason, can be expected from me; so that my not embracing the court's call cannot be a prejudice and detriment to the country, but a benefit and advantage, in causing them to make a better choice of some more able, and better experienced in affairs of that nature. Sir, in all this I have not dealt feignedly nor fraudulently with you; but really and truly; hoping it will be so accepted and taken; desiring the Almighty to so endow you with all wisdom, for the management of such concerns as you are called to be exercised in; that all under you may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty; and so prays he, that is willing, wherein he may, to serve you, Sir, who is
your humble servant,

JAMES CUDWORTH.*

To the much honoured JOSIAH WINSLOW,
Governor of New-Plymouth, these present,

Scituate, the 16th of January, 1673.

* "In August, 1673, advice came to Boston, that the Dutch, after taking several ships at Virginia, had possessed themselves of New-York, whilst Col. Lovelace, the governor, was at New-Haven; and that the Dutch force was bound further northward. This intelligence caused a great alarm in the colony. The castle having been destroyed (by fire) not long before, Boston was less capable of defence. The best preparations were made, which could be made. The Dutch fleet returned to Europe." Vide Hutchinson, I. 259. Note.

It was upon this occasion, probably, that Capt. Cudworth was appointed to the command, which he wishes, by his letter, to decline. This letter is inserted, as exhibiting character, and representing the simplicity.

JAMES CUDWORTH'S LETTER TO GOV. JOSIAH WINSLOW.

*From the garrison on Mount-Hope neck,
the 20th of July, 1675.*

MUCH HONOURED,

YOURS of the 18th instant came by the post to me about eight o'clock at night. Understanding that you are unacquainted with our present condition, and the state of things at present amongst us; the account of which, by a post on Saturday last, I gave you of things as they then were, and this day, by post, acquainted with what has fallen out since; but lest they might miss of coming to your hand. On Friday last I marched out with about an hundred and twenty men, to search for Philip and squaw sachem; and as we were marching, we saw two Indians, one was shot down, the other fled; and before we killed him, he declared, by pointing, whereabout the squaw sachem was, and whereabout Philip was; so we marched to find out the squaw sachem; and in our travel were fired upon out of the bushes, and in and out of swamps were fired at, and we had a hot dispute, especially when we were to go near to a swamp; in which skirmish we came to the place of rendezvous, but squaw and children fled. We have lost two men, and four more wounded. On Monday following we went to see if we could discover Philip; the Bay forces being now with us; and in our march, two miles before we came to the place of rendezvous, the captain of the *Forlorn* was shot down dead; three more were then killed or died that night, and five or six more dangerously wounded. The place we found was a hideous dismal swamp; the house or shelter, they had to lodge in, contained, in space, the quantity of four acres of ground, standing thick together; but all women and children fled, only one old man, that we took there, who

simplicity of the age, and the modes of thinking that then prevailed. We may be assured, that the writer did not "*wave the business*," to use his own expression, "*out of an effeminate or dastardly spirit*." Upon the breaking out of Philip's war, he had the command of the Plymouth forces on the first expedition into the enemy's country, and conducted with approved bravery and discretion. His letter of July, 1675, was written while on that expedition.

who said, *Wittoma* was there that day, and that Philip had been there the day before, and that Philip's place of residence was about half a mile off; which we could make no discovery of, because the day was spent, and we having dead men and wounded men to draw off. Also the old man told me, that in the skirmish we had with him on Friday, that we killed seven men, and hurt and wounded divers others. Now so it is, that we judge it not our work to assault him at such disadvantages; for the issue of such a design will be to pick off our men, and we shall never be able to obtain our end in this way, for they fly before us, from one swamp to another. Now that which we consider to be best, is to maintain our garrison, though but with twenty men, and that there be another garrison at *Pocassett*; and to have a flying army, to be in motion to keep the Indians from destroying our cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straits; and therefore we judge it best not to give up our garrison until further order; and we see a necessity, that divers of our men should come home, being tired and worn out by labour and travel, by wants and straits; for indeed we have been sadly on it, upon account of provision; and unless some more effectual course may be taken for the future, there is no possibility for men to hold out; so that we judge an hundred men, at least, must be for the garrison and army; and we judge a flying army about the town, that may be helpful to get in men's harvests, and so to fly from one town to another, whose constant motion will keep the enemy in fear.

How these will come to be provided for, I cannot yet see. Pray let us hear from you, and be further ordered by you what to do; not intending to break up, or come away, until things be brought, by order from you, to better settlement. So craving pardon, ever resting yours to serve you,

JAMES CUDWORTH.

LETTER

LETTER FROM JOHN EASTON TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH
WINSLOW OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

NINEGRETT,* one of the two chief sachems of the Narragansets in our colony, importuned me thus to write to you, that, as he saith, it is the Indian custom or law, that when any sachem's men are driven and cast ashore, or their goods, upon any other sachem's jurisdiction, or taken up by any other sachem's men, that the goods are to be restored to the sachems whose men they were; and this spring, twelve Indians, at a time, were drowned in the sea, coming from an island, and some of their goods drove up in your jurisdiction at Dartmouth; and he desireth you to inform those Indians, that they should restore to him all the goods of those drowned that they have got. No more to trouble you, desiring as we are, so to behave ourselves, your loving neighbours and friends, Englishmen. I was desired by our court thus to write to thee.

I have not been negligent, but have not as yet had opportunity to do any thing concerning thy respectful letter to me, wherein thou mentioneth John Smith; but think I shall suddenly have opportunity, and give thee account of what I have done. Thy friend,

JOHN EASTON.

Rhode-Island, 14th 3d month, 1675.

They would have this open, that they might shew what course they were taking.

LETTER FROM NATHANIEL THOMAS, ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST PHILIP, TO GOVERNOR WINSLOW.

Swansey, June 25, 1675.

RIGHT HONOURED SIR,

A PARTICULAR account of our arrival here, and the sad providence that yesterday fell out at *Mattapoise*,

* *Ninegrett* was sachem of the Nyanticks, and uniformly adhered to the English. *Callender*, in his century sermon, observes, that part of this tribe were then remaining, while no traces were left of the Narragansets, Pequods, &c.

poise,* of the loss of six men; without doubt, you have from our general, which may, I desire, be an inducement to you to strengthen our towns, that are weakened by our departure; since the Indians do their exploits on our houses and straggling persons. It is reported, credibly, that *Uncas* sent *Philip* twenty men last Saturday was se'n night; and sent him word, that if he sent him six English heads, all the Indians in the country were engaged against the English.

Sir, our men are all well and cheerful, through God's mercy. Send not your southward men to us, but secure yourselves with them, and send us help from the Massachusetts, which is our general's and council's advice.

The forces here are dispersed to several places of the town, and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a narrower compass; which, when we have done, we intend to lay ambushment in the Indians' walks, to cut off their men, as they do to cut off our men; for their present motion is to send forth scouts to lie in our walks, to make discovery, and cut off our men.

I pray, sir, remember me to my wife, and bid her be of good cheer; the Lord is our keeper. Our soldiers here desire to be remembered to their wives and friends. William Ford is well of his ague. Thus desiring your honour's and all people's prayers for us, I remain
your honour's servant,

NATHANIEL THOMAS.

For the Right Honourable
JOSIAH WINSLOW, Esq.
Governor of Plymouth
colony.

A LETTER FROM SECRETARY RAWSON TO GOVERNOR WINSLOW, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

AFTER many agitations and considerations of our present state, in reference to the late and present
actings

* In Swanzeey. There is another place of the same name in Rochester.

actings of the Dutch in the sound, and in confidence and assurance of your compliance with us, according to our articles, and your late invitations and encouragements, our General Court have ordered two vessels to be forthwith equipped as men of war, to secure the passage through the sound, and to repress the present insolency of the Dutch; for the preservation of the honour and reputation of our nation, and the assurance and encouragement of our friends and allies; not doubting but a few days will furnish us with such intelligence as may direct our future counsels and actings; which we shall, with all diligence, impart unto you. We are now endeavouring, with all expedition, to put the General Court's order in execution; and we doubt not but before, or soon after these come to your hands, you will be satisfied of the well accomplishment thereof. Commending this affair, yourselves, and all counsels thereabouts, to the special guidance and blessing of the Almighty, we remain,

Gentlemen, by order of the government and council of the Massachusetts, in New-England, your assured loving friends and confederates,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Boston, 14th March, 1673-4.

P. S. Sir, I thought it not amiss to inform you, our General Court have ordered and appointed the 20th inst. to be kept as a day of humiliation throughout our colony, to humble our souls before heaven, in the sense of our being exercised with various difficulties and trials, particularly the breaking forth of notorious and scandalous sins among us; many persons straightened with respect to scarcity of grain and provisions, and danger of war threatening us; the condition of our native country and the people of God elsewhere in Europe, respecting war and other troubles, and to seek the Lord's special favour and blessing on the country, endeavours and labours of the people the year ensuing. Nought else but my service to you. Subscribe, your humble servant,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec.*

LETTER FROM GOV. LEVERETT TO GOV. WINSLOW.

Boston, 26th March, 1676.

HONOURED SIR,

UPON the intelligence, just now come to my hand, by the way of Wrentham, that this morning Capt. Peirce, with his company, were cut off by the enemy, within eight miles of Woodcock's, only three men escaping to Woodcock's house, and some Indians; the report is, the enemy was about a thousand; and questioning whether you might have an account thereof by any other hand, I judged it convenient to signify the same unto you, desiring the good presence of the Lord to be with you, and direct you in your counsels and enterprises.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN LEVERETT.*

The towns are so drained of men, we are not able to send out any more.

LETTER FROM EDWARD PALMER TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW.

New-England, January 16, 1675.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

THESE serve chiefly for cover to the inclosed; wherein are several letters to your honour, and sundry for Boston, wherein your honour's care is requested in forwarding them by the first conveyance; some of them being for the commissioners, and others for the governor and council. Sir, the council at Connecticut have granted a liberty to myself for the furnishing Massachusetts forces

* Captain Peirce was of Scituate. His company consisted of fifty English, and twenty friendly Indians from Cape Cod. All the English, says Hubbard, and the greater part of the Indians, were killed. It was afterwards reported, by captives, that 140 of the enemy were killed in the desperate defence made by this brave company. Hubbard relates several ingenious stratagems, by which some of the Indians of Capt. Peirce's company preserved their lives. He compares Capt. Peirce to "Sampson, who was content to die with his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby."

Woodcock's was about 27 miles from Dedham, near Pawtucket river.

forces, under your command, with what provisions I am capable of procuring; which will be chiefly beef, some pork and pease, and some small quantity of biscuit, as the weather will give leave for grinding, and the necessity of our soldiers permit the baking of; there being only one bake-house in these parts, and hitherto the mills froze, which have necessitated most families to make use of samp. I have wrote to Mr. Wharton at Boston, to inform the council there, of the liberty granted by our; also what quantity I am capable of furnishing, and on what terms; upon the return of which, (or order from your honour) I shall dispatch what can be got ready.— Sir, I came yesterday from Hartford, where the council are hastening away their forces to your supply. Major Treat being gone to Milford, but expected there yesterday, that I fear they cannot be with you by the time prefixed, by order of the commissioners. I presume it would not be amiss that your honour's order lay ready, at Stonington, for expediting their march to your head quarters, supposing it will be Thursday or Friday before they can get thither. With my most humble service to your honour, respects to the gentlemen with you, I am,
honoured Sir, your humble servant,

EDWARD PALMER.

I perceive it would prove very grateful to our gentlemen, if an honourable peace might be made with the Indians; for our soldiers are more hardly drawn from home than formerly. The number now raised is 150.

To the Right Honourable his Excellency
JOSIAH WINSLOW, captain-general of
his majesty's forces of the united colonies of New-England, these, at Narraganset, humbly present.*

* In the winter of 1675-6, Gov. Josiah Winslow marched with a thousand men into the Narraganset country, on an expedition against the Indians. On the 19th December, after a cold and fatiguing march through the snow, he made an attack upon a large body of Indians, who had sheltered themselves in a fort situated in a swamp. General Winslow, with his brave troops, obtained a decisive, but dear-bought victory. Six captains were killed, Davenport, Gardner, and Johnson, of Massachusetts; Gallop, Siely, and Marshall, of Connecticut. Eighty privates were killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. The General received the above letter while on that expedition.

LETTER FROM JOHN FREEMAN* TO GOV. WINSLOW.

HONOURED GOVERNOR,

WE are a distressed people. We hear nothing since from the army. We find the enemy is dispersed through the wilderness; they are, as we judge, round about us. This morning, three of our men are slain, close by one of our courts of guard; houses burnt in our sight; our men being so picked off out of every bush and so few of them, dare not issue out, I have sent to governor Leverett for forty or fifty men and arms. We are forced to keep our courts of guard, and we are not capable to withstand the enemy, though we see houses burning before our eyes. I pray send some arms to us, if you can, and some to our southern towns. *Eastham* hath, as I think, not twenty good arms in it. I pray give them instruction how to manage things for their security, for they much want help. We expect this night to be further surpris'd by the enemy. We see their design is not to face the army; but to keep a flying army about the woods, to fall on us and our army, as they have advantage. I judge there should be what Indians may be engaged in the quarrel for us, which must hunt them out for us, or else our English will be disheartened to travel about in the woods, and get nothing but a clap with a bullet out of every bush. The Lord humble us for our sins, which are the procuring causes of God's judgments, and remember mercy, and bestow it on us, is the prayer of your unworthy servant,

JOHN FREEMAN.

Taunton, the 3d of the 4th month, 1675.

P. S. I have received yours this instant, with much thankfulness, hoping we shall improve your instructions.

The men that were slain, were John Tisdill, senior, of Taunton, John Knolles, and Samuel Atkins, of *Eastham*. John Tisdill's house burned, and James Walker's, as we judge.

RETURN

* Supposed to have been one of the council of war.

RETURN OF LOSS, IN SCITUATE, IN PHILIP'S WAR.

To the Honoured Governor Josiah Winslow, at his house in
Marshfield, this deliver with speed.

HONOURED SIR,

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, received your order, bearing date the 16th February, 1676, wherein you desire us to send you a list of the names of all such persons, inhabitants or strangers, of what persuasion soever, with what losses they have sustained in their persons or estates, and are in distress; which accordingly we have here done, according to our ability.

ISAAC BUCK, Ten.

JEREMIAH HATCH,

JOHN CUSHIN,

} Selectmen.

Scituate, the 26th of January, 1676.

"In Scituate, thirteen dwelling-houses burned, to which there also appertained barns; and one saw-mill. Six heads of families killed, besides many others killed and made cripples; and four families of the eastern people, that have been great sufferers. In all, thirty-two families, wherein are about one hundred and thirty-two persons."

Note. Here follow the names of the sufferers, and the particular items of their losses.

The highest estimate of a house and barn is £.80.

The lowest estimate of ditto, £.35.

EDWARD RANDOLPH'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW, RELATIVE TO HIS PROCEEDINGS AT PISCATAQUA.

Boston, January, 29, 1679.

HONOURED SIR,

I AM now returned from Piscataqua, having stayed there from the 27th of December last, to the 22d of this instant; and all little enough to get that part of the country to accept of his majesty's authority; which proved the more difficult, in regard that several of the new council were

were obliged, either by their possessing great tracts of land from Mr. Mason, or by being sworn to the government of Boston. At first, only Mr. Cutts, president, and another, accepted, and would proceed; whose resolute instructions brought in the other five, viz. Martin, Vaughan, Danniell, Hulley, and Waldern, very much against the expectation of his party here in this town. This very much startles the government here, who next week have a General Court, which is the reason why I do not wait on you, as I desired, at my return. My letter is pregnant with various news; all which will be useful or welcome. The inclosed, from Crown, came to my hands at Piscataqua: by that you will easily see a necessity of speeding for court. I did not forget to signify your grateful receipt of his majesty's letters; and being indisposed, you desired that nothing might be done about Mount-Hope, till somebody did appear from your colony. Sir, be assured Mr. Crown will be doing, and his interest at court is not small; and considering the necessity there is of renewing your charter, you can never do your colony greater service, than to appear yourself at Whitehall, where you will very well stem his designs. I am received at Boston more like a spy, than one of his majesty's servants. They kept a day of thanks for the return of their agents; but have prepared a welcome for me, by a paper of scandalous verses, all persons taking liberty to abuse me in their discourses, of which I take the more notice, because it so much reflects upon my master, who will not forget it. I know not yet but I may wait upon you to England, intending to be where I may be most serviceable to his majesty's affairs, and assistant to the people of this country. I received, in a letter from Mr. Mason, the following news, that the Parliament was prorogued till the 26th of this instant, January; that the duke and dutchess of York, with their children, were returned from Flanders, not to go back again; some say, with instructions to keep his court at Edinburgh or York. Likewise that the difference is reconciled betwixt him and the duke of Monmouth, who is sent for out of Holland. That his majesty and the duke of York received an invitation to dinner, made by the lieutenancy of the city, who came in
a great

a great body to Whitehall; the lord-mayor being their mouth, made a very acceptable speech to the king and duke. So that, God assisting, all things look very pleasing at home. Your friends are all well at Salem; where, once a day, we solemnly remembered yourself and lady. I intend, upon the first vacancy, to wait upon you, having more to communicate than is, at this time, fit to trust to paper. I only add my humble thanks for all and last favours. Your neighbour was too quick for me. I expected him the next morning to carry a letter, and receive a further token of his kindness, which must be deferred till next meeting. Wishing you all health and happiness, I remain, Sir, your assured friend and humble servant,

EDWARD RANDOLPH.

"SACHEM PHILIP, HIS ANSWER TO THE LETTER BROUGHT TO HIM FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NEW-PLYMOUTH."

FIRST. Declaring his thankfulness to the governor for his great respects and kindness manifested in the letter.

Secondly. Manifesting his readiness to lay down their arms, and send his people about their usual business and employments; as also his great desire of concluding of peace with neighbouring English.

Thirdly. Inasmuch as great fears and jealousies hath been raised in their minds by several persons, which now they better understand the falsity of such reports, as hath formerly been conveyed unto them, Philip doth humbly request the governor will please favourably to excuse and acquit them from any payment of damage, or surrendering their arms, they not apprehending themselves blameworthy in these late rumours.

Fourthly. They are not at present free to promise to appear at court, hoping there will be no necessity of it, in case their freedom for peace, and readiness to lay down arms, may be accepted; as also suggestions of great danger that will befall them, in case they there appear, with harsh threats to the sachem, that may be considered.

Per me,

SAMUEL GORTON, jun.

EDWARD RAWSON'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW-PLYMOUTH, SOLICITING AID FOR THE COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE.

To the Honourable THOMAS PRINCE, Esquire, Governor of the Colony of New-Plymouth; and by him to be communicated to the Council there.

MUCH HONOURED GENTLEMEN,

THAT there hath been lately carrying on amongst us, in this colony, a public and solemn motion with reference to the college at Cambridge, we doubt not but is already come to your notice. The more particular nature and design thereof, together with the grounds and occasions leading us at this time thereunto, will something further appear to you from the inclosed. We cannot but judge, that we should not only be wanting greatly unto so seasonable and necessary a work, but also unto our hearty and unfeigned respect to you, our neighbours and friends, if we should not invite you to join your helping hands, and offer you a share therein with ourselves. How far this nursery of learning hath, from the first, been a signal honour and repute, unto all those our New-England plantations, above others of our nation in these western parts of the world; how far the glory of God, the interest of religion, the future weal, supply, and propagation of these churches of Christ, stands concerned therein, we need not, especially unto yourselves, with many words to insist on. By a former opportunity we wrote to several eminent persons in England, such as have, some of them, given some lift to this motion, and whom we judged most able and likely to promote encouragement to such works from thence, both by gaining the contributions of pious and nobly disposed persons, and also by their advising and helping in the procurement of a fit person to succeed in the presidentship, then likely to be to me, and now, by the late providence of God, being, actually vacant. By the speedy return of the much honoured Mr. Richard Saltonstall, we have now another opportunity of engaging and betrusting him also in this affair,

fair, one of the college's most considerable benefactors, and, above many, naturally caring for the good and prosperity thereof. That which hath been already subscribed, and in part collected in our several plantations here, is so considerable, that we cannot but own the enlargement of the hearts and hands of so many people, unto his service, as a signal token of favour from God, and a gracious smile of his providence thereon. Some preparations towards this work, we purpose speedily to set forward; but it will require some considerable time before it can be brought to perfection; so that there will be opportunity enough for all such, as have not yet engaged, to come in, with their offerings of bounty thereunto. This, therefore, is, at this time, our business and request unto you, honoured gentlemen, that you will be pleased to take this weighty matter into serious consideration amongst you, also in your colony, and in what way your wisdoms shall judge most meet, and the Lord shall guide unto, to stir up the well-disposed, under your government, to renew and revive the expressions of their good-will and beneficence to so worthy a work, and of joint concernment to us all. If there be any thing, wherein you may think good to give us your advice, or wherein you desire information from us, for your further satisfaction in any matter relating to the premises, we shall be most ready, at all times, to attend you therein. We have no further to add at present, but our presenting our due respects to you, and commending you to the blessing of God's rich grace, in this and all other undertakings; remaining, gentlemen,

your assured loving friends and servants,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

In the name, and by order of the governor
and council of the Massachusetts.

Boston, 12th March, 1671-2.

LETTER

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS
GENERAL COURT TO WILLIAM BOLLAN, THEIR AGENT
AT THE COURT OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

In Council, 2d September, 1756.

ORDERED, that John Osborne, Andrew Oliver, and Thomas Hutchinson, Esquires, with such as the honourable House shall appoint, be a committee to prepare instructions to Mr. Agent Bollan, to make humble and earnest application to his majesty for relief from the grievous burden the province is under from the impressing of seamen, fishermen, and others, for the manning of his majesty's ships of war; and the committee are to prepare proper evidence of the late impresses from the fishing vessels on the banks, and transmit the same.

Sent down for concurrence.

THOMAS CLARKE, deputy secretary.

In the house of representatives, September 2, 1756. Read and concurred; and Mr. Speaker, colonel Hale, judge Russell and major Read, are joined in the affair.

T. HUBBARD, speaker.

The committee, for the purpose within mentioned, have prepared a letter to Mr. Agent Bollan, which is herewith humbly presented.

JOHN OSBORNE, per order.

Copy attest.

THOMAS CLARKE, deputy secretary.

SIR,

THE people of this province, during the whole of the last war, laboured under a grievous burden from the impressing of seamen to serve on board his majesty's ships. Not only vessels trading to foreign ports, but coasting vessels, on which our seaport towns depend for their provisions and fuel, were deprived of their hands, and the inhabitants were divers times taken out of small boats in the harbours; and attempts also were made for taking men on shore, which occasioned great disturbances

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and

and confusion, and two persons, who fled to avoid the impress, were barbarously murdered in the town of Boston. We are again brought under the calamity of war, and have already felt a considerable degree of the burden, which we were formerly under; and not only his majesty's ship stationed in this province, but the ships at Halifax, endeavour to supply their deficiency of men here; so that great part of the spring and summer past, all inward bound vessels have had their crews impressed; some have been taken out of our coasting vessels and wood boats; though that has not been done in many instances, but yet there has been sufficient to terrify the coasters, and to prevent their following their employ. But there has something occurred, the summer past, altogether unprecedented: several of our fishermen have had one or more of their hands impressed while on the banks, or in the prosecution of their voyage. If this practice be tolerated, there is an end to our fishery, the most profitable branch of our business, not only to the province itself, but also to our mother country, as the proceeds of by far the greatest part of the fish, that is caught, centers there. It is said, that this has been done to punish the province for the doings of one of the inhabitants, a merchant, who brought an action of trespass against two seamen, or petty officers, of the *Hornet* sloop, for being concerned in impressing all his vessel's crew, which, in her passage from the Bay of Honduras to Holland, put in here to stop her leaks. Such an arbitrary, unreasonable conduct can have no good tendency, but must prejudice the minds of the inhabitants of the province against the officers of the navy, and be detrimental to his majesty's service. You will have some depositions inclosed, to prove the facts, although it is not improbable a boast may be made of them by those concerned, and that you will have no occasion for evidence.

It seems as reasonable that the northern colonies should be freed from this hardship of impresses, as that the West-India islands should be so; whether this is a convenient time to make an application for it, you can best judge on the spot; but this must be allowed to be reasonable at all times, that the burden of manning his majesty's ships should not lie upon one colony alone; but if it must
lie

lie upon any, that every one should take a proportionable share. Instead of that, we hear of no impresses any where but in the Massachusetts: the consequence is, that our seamen go away, in great numbers, to Rhode-Island and New-York; and by this means, they are in a capacity there, to fit out many privateers, while the persons in trade here, are obliged to let their merchantmen lie still for want of hands. The two houses think it necessary to give you this instruction, viz. that if you shall not think it convenient, at this juncture, to apply for a prohibition of all impresses of seamen in any of the colonies, yet that you should immediately make application, that all the commanders of his majesty's ships, which may be sent into these seas, may be ordered to impress no more in proportion from this province, than from the colonies of Rhode-Island, New-York, or Pennsylvania; the least of which have more seamen employed in their capital towns, than there are in the town of Boston, (such has been the declension of the trade of that town) and that, upon no account whatsoever, any of our coasters or fishermen should ever be interrupted in their voyages, by having any of their hands taken from them. The taking our inhabitants, passing from one town to another, or crossing our rivers or harbours in lighters, or other boats, is so extravagant a thing, that we are well assured no commander could ever answer it. It is absurd to suppose, that the inhabitants should have this privilege by charter, that even the king's governor cannot carry a man of them out of the province without the consent of the assembly, and yet that they must lie at the mercy of every commander in the navy; but such a wanton use has sometimes been made of their power, that it seems necessary there should be some express injunction to them on this head also.

This province has ever been forward in promoting measures for his majesty's service; they have done to the utmost of their abilities, and have been impoverishing themselves for the common benefit. It is hoped, therefore, that no construction to their disadvantage will be made of this application; their disposition to promote the same service is not lessened, but their ability is, and they need encouragement in every way that is possible. I write this
by

by the special direction of the council and house of representatives ; and am,

Sir, your humble servant.

In council, 11th September, 1756. Read, and ordered that the secretary sign a fair draught of this letter to Mr. Agent Bollen, in the name of the two houses.
Sent down for concurrence.

THOMAS CLARKE, dep. secr'y.

In the house of representatives, September 11, 1756.—
Read and concurred. T. HUBBARD, speaker.

LETTER FROM LEONARD HOAR, M.D. TO JOSIAH FLINT.*

March 27, 1661.

COUSIN JOSIAH FLINT,

Y OUR first, second, and third, are before me, in answer to one of mine to you the last year ; the which you esteemed somewhat sharp ; but I thought, and still do fear, that it was scarce so much as was needful ; and I am sure yourself would be of the same mind, if, with me, you knew the unutterable misery, and irreparable mischief, that follows upon the mispense of those halcyon days, which

* Mr. Hoar was educated at Harvard College, and received his bachelor's degree, A.D. 1650. He went to England in 1653, and took the degree of Doctor in Medicine at Cambridge University. He was elected president of Harvard College in 1672, and resigned March 15, 1674--5. "The students," says Hutchinson, "were too much indulged in their prejudices against him, and he was obliged to resign."—He died soon after his resignation, 1675, and was buried at Braintree, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow, who survived him many years, and who was a lady of rank in England, of the family of *Lisle*. The above letter was written while Mr. Hoar was in England. *Josiah Flint* was, at that time, *freshman* at college. He was afterwards minister at *Dorchester*. Hutchinson gives an extract from his diary under the year 1670, vol. i. p. 249. He died in 1680, aged thirty-five. From his tender years, being only fifteen when this letter was addressed to him, it may be supposed that there were some youthful foibles to be corrected ; but it is probable, that the severity of his uncle's temper prompted to a keenness of reprimand, in the beginning of the letter, greater than was necessary. In Mr. Flint's epitaph, he is characterised as a man of great piety and worth.

which you do yet enjoy. The which letter, whilst you fence withal in your first; by those seven or eight thin-skulled-paper-put-bys, and as many empty excuses, you did but lay more open your own blame-worthiness, and augment my grief, instead of giving me satisfaction.

But your two latter epistles are better, containing some acknowledgment of those grand defects, discerned in you, and those errors committed by you; together with your promises of reparation and amendment, by redoubling your diligence in your studies for the time to come. Only remember to do what you have promised, and I thereupon have believed; that I may see some testimonies of it in all your succeeding letters; and also hear it testified by others, that shall write to me concerning you.— By all things that you can either revere or desire, I adjure you, that you do not emulate those unhappy youths, that reckon it a high point of their wisdom to elude the expectations of their friends, for a little while; whereby they indeed not only delude, but destroy themselves for ever.

Your account of the course of your studies, as now ordered, under the worthy Mr. Chauncy, is far short of my desire; for its only of what you were then about; whereas it should have been a delineation of your whole method and authors, from your matriculation till commencement. Therefore I can still touch but upon a few generals for your direction. The first is this, that you would not content yourself with doing that only, which you are tasked to; nor to do that merely as much as needs must, and is expected of you; but daily something more than your task: and that task, also, something better than ordinary. Thus, when the classes study only logick or nature, you may spend some one or two spare hours in languages, rhetorick, history, or mathematics, or the like. And when they recite only the text of an author, read you some other of the same subject, or some commentator upon it, at the same time. Also, in your accustomed disputations, do not satisfy yourself only to thieve an argument, but study the question before hand, and, if possible, draw, in a book on purpose, a summary of the arguments and answers on all hands; unto which
you

you may briefly subjoin any thing choice and accurate, which you have heard in the hall, upon the debate of it in public.

Nextly, As you must read much, that your head may be stored with notion, so you must be free and much in all kinds of discourse of what you read, that your tongue may be apt to a good expression of what you do understand. And further; of most things you must write too; whereby you may render yourself exact in judging of what you hear or read; and faithful in remembering of what you once have known. Touching your writing; take a few hints, of many, which I had thought to have given you. First, let it not be in loose papers; for it will prove, for the most part, lost labour. Secondly, nor in a fortuitous vagrant way; but in distinct books, designed for every several purpose, and the heads of all, wrote aforehand, in every page, with intermediate spaces left (as well as you can guess) proportionable to the matter they are like to contain. Third, let all those heads be in the method of the incomparable P. Ramus, as to every art which he hath wrote upon. Get his definitions and distributions into your mind and memory. Let these be the titles of your several pages and repositories in the books afore said. He that is ready in these of P. Ramus, may refer all things to them. And he may know where again to fetch any thing, that he hath judiciously referred; for there is not one axiom of truth ever uttered, that doth not fall under some special rule of art.

The gen'g.* on any page, you may (having paged your book beforehand) by a figure set before it, direct from what page it came; and the species thereof, one or more, which, for method and understanding sake, shall be set down under it, but not handled there: you may, by figures after them, direct to the several pages that are made the repositories for the matters referable to each of them; and so need no confused alphabetical indices.

Mr. Alexander Richardson's tables would be as an Ariadne's thread to you in this labyrinth, which, with other of his manuscripts in logic, physick, and theology, by transcribing,

* It is not known what was intended, by the writer, by this abbreviation; probably "generating."

scribing, have been continued in your college, ever since the foundation thereof, among most that were reckoned students indeed. And if you have now lost them, I know no way to recover them but of some that were of that society in former times. I suppose Mr. Danforth, Mr. Mitchell, and others, have them. Mr. Hancock, a quondam pupil of Mr. Chauncy's, hath his divinity. But in the utter defect of this, you may make use of the grand Mr. Ramus, in grammar, rhetoric, logic, (the mathematics must be left to your industry and memory, unless it should be some practical branches of it, of which you may take short notes) and then for theology, (which you may yet let alone) you have Dr. Ames's Medulla. Of this theme I shall be larger, when you shall give me encouragement thereunto, by attending to what I have written on the rest foregoing.

Fourthly—As to the authors you should distil into your paper books in general; let them not be such as are already methodical, concise, and pithy as possible; for it would be but to transcribe them, which is very tedious and uncouth: rather keep such books by you, for immediate perusal. But let them be such as are voluminous, intricate, and more jejune; or else those tractabuli, that touch only on some smaller tendrills of any science; especially, if they be books that you do only borrow, or hire, to read. By this mean I have kept my library in a little compass, (scarce yet having more books than myself can carry in my arms at once, my paper books only excepted) and yet I have not quite lost any thing, that did occur in my multifarious wandering readings. Were a man sure of a stable abode in a place for the whole time of his life, and had an estate also to expend, then, indeed, the books themselves in specie were the better way, and only an index to be made of them all. But this was not like to be, nor hath been my condition; and it may be, may not be yours. Wherefore, though it be somewhat laborious, yet be not discouraged in prosecuting it. It is the surest way, and most ready for use, in all places and times, yielding the greatest evidences of your growth in knowledge, and therefore, also the greatest delight. It comprehends the other way of an index too. If for the books you read,
you

you keep a catalogue of their names, authors, scope, and manner of handling, and edition, and so for every several tract, you devise a certain mark, by which you may briefly quote the author, from whence you had these collected notes, and refer to him for more ample satisfaction in any article ; whereas it shall be too tedious to transcribe him word for word.

Fifthly—For books into which you should thus hoard your store, take at present only some quires of paper, stitched together, which you may increase or subtract from, as you shall see occasion upon experience ; only let them that concern one thing be all culled after one fashion ; and let them be sewed and written so, as that afterwards they may be bound into one volume, in case that you should never have time to digest them again into more handsome order ; at least no further than a succinct epitome, or synopsis.

Sixthly—One paper book more add, of the names of all philosophical authors, and divines, of ordinary note ; of all the several sects, in the schools and in the church ; of all the nations famed in the world ; of all, and singular, the most mysterious arts and sciences ; and of them all, write a Latin alphabetical index, which, by figures, shall direct to the several pages in a book, where you have noted, or will note, the characters, commendations, and censures, which any of them do give of other, and some of the characteristic differences, by which they were known ; the time of their rise, their progress, subdivisions, and several ends. I mean such fragments as shall occur, of these things, to you by the by, in your reading, and would for most part be lost, if not thus laid up. As for the full history of them, wherever that is found, transcribe nothing out of it, for it is too laborious and endless, but only refer to it. Much less do you do offer to gather any thing out of the works of authors, who have written volumes to this very purpose ; such as are Poswine, Sexby, Senensis, Gesner, Draudig, and the like. The great use of this, is to preserve these fragments that yourself shall find in your studies, and could not be otherwise referred. Likewise, that you may know, and compare their thoughts of each other, especially the moderns ; and that accordingly,

accordingly, you may be directed and cautioned in the perusal of any of them. Finally, that you may have of your own store those characters and lineaments by which you may presently pencil any of them at pleasure, and this not as usually, upon prejudice and peradventures; but the testimonies of some or other that you may also produce; for always be sure in this, that you note down the author whenever you excepted any thing of this nature. But this you will judge so vast as never to be accomplished, and therefore vain to be attempted, you never having heard the names of one tenth of those things and persons that I have proposed; so that you know not how so much as to begin this platform. I answer, that for the progress or completing of this work, you need not take care. Let it but grow as your studies grow; you need never seek any thing on purpose to put into this book, and for the entrance I shall show it easy. For if you take but one quire of paper, and divide the first two sheets into twenty-four narrow columns, and every page of the rest into two, which also must be paged; then mark the narrow columns each with one letter of the alphabet, and it is ready for use. For it is but to write the name of such place or person, that next occurs, into your index, with the figures at it, and again that name, with what is there said of it, in your first page of the quire, with the author whence you had it, and it is done; and the like of the second in the second. When the index shall grow full, it is but to write it over again, leaving larger spaces where needed; and when that quire shall grow full, it is but to take another, and carry on the same columns and numbers; and when they grow to be five or six quires to this one index; why then, if that or any name swell so big for its column, it is but to refer it to some other column further forwards. On the contrary, if any others have not, nor are not like to yield any thing much upon them, when more titles occur, it is but to crowd those into them, referring them also, as the former, by the index and its figures. Thus I think I have made it facile and plain enough; and believe me, you will find it, beyond your estimation, both pleasant and profitable.

Seventhly—One more quire you may take, and rule

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each

each leaf into four columns, and therein note, also alphabetically, all those curious criticisms, etymologies, and derivations, that you shall meet withal in the English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues. I still mean, by the by, while you are seeking other matters; not which you may gather out of vocabularies and critics, that have purposely written on such subjects, for that were but *actum agere*.

Eighthly—Be forward and frequent in the use of all those things which you have read, and which you have collected; judiciously moulding them up with others of your own fancy and memory, according to the proposed occasions; whether it be in the penning of epistles, orations, theses or antitheses, or determinations upon a question, analysis of any part of an author, or imitations of him, *per modum genseos*. For so much only have you profited in your studies, as you are able to do these.—And all the contemplations and collections, in the world, will but only fit you for these. It is practice, and only your own practice, that will be able to perfect you. My charge of your choice of company, I need not inculcate; nor I hope that for your constant use of the Latin tongue in all your converse together, and that in the purest phrase of Terence and Erasmus. Music I had almost forgot. I suspect you seek it both too soon and too much. 'Tis be assured of, that if you be not excellent at it, it is nothing at all; and if you be excellent, it will take up so much of your time and mind, that you will be worth little else. And when all that excellence is attained, your acquirement will prove little or nothing of real profit to you, unless you intend to take up the trade of fiddling. Howbeit, hearing your mother's desires were for it, for your sisters, for whom it is more proper, and they also have more leisure to look after it; for them, I say, I had prepared the instruments desired, but I cannot now attend the sending them, being hurrying away from London by the unexpected providence of your uncle Daniel's sickness, which, with some other circumstances, do not a little distress me.

My deservedly honoured friend and colleague, Mr. Stoughton, is a coming over. He hath promised me to do you any civil courtesy, either for advice or loan of
a book,

a book, or the like. Therefore, to him I wish you modestly to apply yourself, and hearken to ; whom, as I am sure you will find able, so I am persuaded that you will find both free and faithful, to assist you as is meet.

I shall add but one thing more, for a conclusion ; but that the crown and perfection of all the rest, which only can make your endeavours successful and your end blessed. And that is something of the daily practice of piety, and the study of the true and highest wisdom. And for God's sake, and your own both present and eternal welfare's sake, let me not only intreat, but enjoin and obtain of you that you do not neglect it : no, not a day. For it must be constancy, constancy, as well as labour, that completes any such work. And if you will take me for an admonitor, do it thus : Read every morning a chapter in the old testament, and every evening, one in the new, using yourself as much as you can to one edition of the bible. And as you read, note lightly with your pen in the margin the several places of remark, with several marks. Those I use are ; for such as have any thing in them new to me, notable and evident, this sign ' ; for those that are obscure and worthy to consult an interpreter upon, this ' ; for those that are seemingly contradictory to some others, this + ; for those that must be compared with others, this > ; for those golden sayings that are full of the soul and power of the gospel, worthy of highest consideration and admiration, this ∞. And if any three or four or ten verses together be of like import, I upon the first of them set down the proper mark, and double it, as " , " , &c.

Secondly—Out of these latter most eminent sentences cull one or two for to expatiate upon in your own thoughts, half a quarter of an hour, by way of meditation. There use your rhetorick, your utmost ratiocination, or rather indeed your sanctified affections, love, faith, fear, hope, joy, &c. For your direction and encouragement in this exercise, you may read the practice of Augustine, Bernard, or Gerard ; or of more modern worthies, J. Ambrose, R. Baxter, B. Hall, or W. Watson, as to the theoretical part.

Third and lastly—Those two being premised, close with prayer ; for this I prescribe, not whether it should be lingual

gual or mental, longer or briefer, only let it, as well as its two preparatives, be most solemn and secret, and, as it is said of Hannah, the speech of your heart. The barrenest ground, and with but mean tillage, being thus watered with these dews of heaven, will bring forth abundantly; and that, the most excellent fruits. Do but seriously try these three last things for some good while; and reckon me a liar in all the rest, if you find not their most sensible sweet effects, yea, as that christian Seneca, Bishop Hall, said before me, so I boldly say again, do you curse me from your death-bed, if you do not reckon these among your best spent hours.

Touching the other items about your studies, either mind them or mend them and follow better. So we shall be friends and rejoice in each other; but if you will neither, then, though I am no prophet, yet I will foretel you the certain issue of all, viz. that in a very few years be over, with inconceivable indignation you will call yourself fool and caitiff; and then, when it is to no purpose, me, what I now subscribe myself, your faithful friend and loving uncle,

LEON. HOAR.

SOME MEMOIRS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF THE NEW-ENGLISH COLONIES, FROM THE BARBAROUS AND PERFIDIOUS INDIANS, INSTIGATED BY THE MORE SAVAGE AND INHUMAN FRENCH OF CANADA AND NOVA-SCOTIA. BEGAN NOVEMBER 3, 1726. BY BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.

IT was at Falmouth, in Casco-Bay, August the 5th, 1726, that the honourable William Dummer, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of his majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, with the honourable John Wentworth, esquire, lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire, and major Mascarenc, delegated from his majesty's province of Nova-Scotia, concluded a peace with Wene-movet, chief sachem and sagamore of the Penobscot tribe. We then were ready to flatter ourselves, that a foundation was laid for some lasting peace with these treacherous natives.

natives. Not but that we were well aware of the narrow and feeble foot that peace was built on ; only one tribe of the Indians appearing and acting in it ; though, as they declared in the name of the other eastern tribes, and promising to resent it, and join with us, in case any of the tribes should rise against us. Nevertheless, they had suffered so much in the last short war, through the blessing of God upon the councils and arms of the provinces ; that we thought they would be glad of peace, and then our trading-houses were now put into so good order, to the great advantage of the savages, that we concluded their interest would keep them quiet. For the Indians may buy of us far cheaper all sorts of goods they need, than they can of the French ; and the goods in our trading-houses are carried, in a manner, to the very doors of the eastern tribes. But notwithstanding all these reasonable prospects, and hopeful grounds of peace, within less than a month the French and Indians began new outrages upon us.

Samuel Daly, of Plymouth, on a fishing voyage, put into Malegash harbour, to water, on the 25th of August, when seeing John Baptist, a Frenchman, on the shore, he hailed him, and asked him to come on board ; which Baptist and his son presently did ; and after some friendly talk of the peace, lately concluded between the English and Indians, master Daly asked Baptist down into his cabin to drink. The meanwhile, Baptist's son took the canoe and went ashore. Daly and his mate, with three more men, were so simple as to take the sloop's canoe and go ashore, leaving Baptist on board, who declined to go with them, saying, that he would call his son to carry him, which he soon did in French, and off came his son with two Indians, who, as soon as they had got on board the sloop, took down the English ensign ; the Indians bidding the English on the shore to ask quarter. Baptist girded the ensign about his waste, and tucked a pistol in it. Daly, with his men on shore, went to Mrs. Giddery, the mother of Baptist, and begged her to go on board with him, and intercede with her son to restore him his sloop. After some time, she went with him ; but now several more Indians had got on board, who threatened him with their hatchets.

Baptist

Baptist soon ordered him to come to sail ; but Daly and his men watched the first opportunity to rise upon the French and Indians, and found one the very next day ; upon Baptist's going down into the cabin with three of the Indians, Daly shut to the cabin door upon them, easily mastered the son and the Indians upon the deck, and then firing into the cabin, the three Indians threw themselves into the sea. Daly brought his prisoners to Boston, where, at a court of admiralty for the trial of piracies, on the 4th of October, Baptist, his son, and three Indians were found guilty and condemned to die, and were executed on the 2d of November.

The Indians complained that the French misled them into such villainous practices, and wished their countrymen would take warning by them. Baptist also seemed to relent, and though he had always shown himself a bitter enemy to the English, he now wished his friends would live in love and friendship hereafter with them, and carry kindly to them.

This was a plain and horrid instance of the French their instigating the Indians to those villainous robberies and murders, which they have so often committed without any provocation on our part. And no doubt it was from their rage at the peace lately made, and in hopes that this might be resented by us as an open and manifest breach of it, and prove a means of a new war, that they led the Indians into this cursed act on the first opportunity that offered. They had also found the war gainful to them, and were loth to lose the plunder and spoil it brought them ; partly from the Indians, who carried all they took to them ; but more especially from the advantage, which the war gave them to head the Indians in the spoils they made the last war upon our fishing vessels. But now the good providence of God discovered them, and took vengeance of them for their treachery and villainy ; and our government wisely hung them up, Indians and French together ; as they well deserved to die by the laws of all nations. We hope this detection of the French will be a warning to them, and their execution a terror to the Indians ; and the whole turn, by the good will of God, to the establishment of the peace.

On November 23, the Great and General Court or Assembly of the province met at Boston, and his honour the lieutenant-governor, in his speech, informed them, "That, near a month before, he had received an account of a house at Kennebunk that was rifled, and two women and two children carried away from it; but that as yet he had not been able to find by whom the villainy was committed; though proper endeavours had been used, and were still using, to that end. In the meanwhile, he had assurances from the sachem of Penobscot, that he was resolved to keep the peace, and had sent out divers parties of his men, either to persuade or force from our frontiers any ill-minded Indians, which they should get the knowledge of." His Honour likewise informed the court, "That he had also assurances of the faithful and friendly dispositions of the Norridgewocks, and other tribes, who come daily to trade at Richmond fort."

His Honour added, "that he could not but mention to them the necessity of an act for the equal and speedy distribution of justice, in all causes wherein the eastern Indians may be concerned, the present course of the law not being so well adapted to their circumstances." This he offered as a means of maintaining and perpetuating the peace.

The next day his Honour sent a message to the house of representatives, acquainting them, that his orders for dismissing the soldiers at the block-house above Northfield, were not sent. He had notice from some of the Norridgewock Indians, as well as from the commissioners at Albany, that some fellows of the Canada tribes, in several parties, were, by the command of the government of Canada, spirited out for mischief on our frontiers; and that then, by advice of his majesty's council, he had continued the soldiers till the sitting of the court; and was yet of opinion, that it would be inconvenient to dismiss that garrison, being the only one in the western frontiers, till the peace shall have a general and effectual operation.

The next day, November 25, the house of representatives voted a committee to draw up proper instructions to the agent of the province, to use his utmost endeavours to obtain an order to prevent the governor of Canada from

from stirring up, and exciting the French Indians, in their unjust and barbarous abuses of his majesty's subjects. A very wise and just resentment of the base and impious conduct of the French governor towards us.

1726. August 23. The lieutenant-governor received a friendly letter from the Penobscot Indians, informing him, that three of the Norridgewock Indians were arrived from Canada and four from St. John's, and are very well pleased with the peace.

September 6. The lieutenant-governor informed the Penobscot Indians of the perfidious hostile action of the Frenchmen and Indians that had piratically seized on Dally, &c. and that he should call a court for the trying them for their lives, when they should have all possible justice done them.

October 14. The commissioners of the Indian affairs at Albany, informed the lieutenant-governor of a party of Indians from Quebec, who informed them that they had seen the new governor of Canada, who had sent for the chiefs of the eastern Indians of nine castles, to whom he had made a speech, and had inquired which of them had made peace with the people of New-England; that the chiefs of three castles stood up, and said that they had; on which the governor told them, that since they were turned English, he would not protect nor assist them, but order the priest, who lives among them, to leave their habitations; and would assist the Indians of the other six castles, with what they had occasion for, having received a ship laden with all sorts of goods for their use; and made them a present of eight hundred pounds of powder, and told them, he had orders from the king, his master, to furnish them with what they had occasion for to prosecute the war with the people of New-England, who possess their land, to which they have no right; and that, hereupon, four parties were gone out against New-England.

A letter of the same date came to the lieutenant governor from Ahanquid, an eastern Indian, informing him of seven Indians that had been with their tribe, to move them to renew the war, which they had refused. He said, that, because he had promised to give information of
any

any such designs, therefore he now affirmed this. His Honour answered his letter, and told him that he took it very kindly, and looked on it as a mark of his sincerity and good will; ordered him a good blanket, and promised to reward him for giving him intelligence of any ill designs against us.

October 21. The lieutenant-governor wrote to Wunneunganet, chief sachem of Penobscot, reminding him of his engagements to get the best intelligence he could of the designs and motions of any ill-minded Indians; assuring him, that if he, or any of his tribe, should at any time sustain any damage, by their adherence to the English, he would not only make good the damage, but also reward them for their service.

October 27. Colonel Wheelwright wrote to the lieutenant-governor, that Philip Durill of Kennebunk went from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter, with a child of twenty months old, and returned home a little before sun-set, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open and all his clothing carried away; that he had searched the woods, and found no sign of any killed.

Three Indians were seized and secured upon suspicion, at Winter harbour, and sent to Boston. The lieutenant-governor informed Wunneunganet, the Penobscot sachem, of the mischief done, and the Indians seized; and that he kept them in order to discover the authors of this violence; that they should be well provided for, and dismissed without harm, if they were found innocent; that it was of great importance, for maintaining the peace, that these captives be restored, and the authors of this wickedness detected and brought to justice; that all the tribes that had made peace, were obliged to endeavour this, by their solemn treaties. These Indians were afterward brought to Boston, found innocent, and dismissed friendly.

November 8. Captain Heath had an opportunity, at St. George's, to inform Egeremet, Ahanquid, and several principal Indians, of what had passed. They replied, that they thankfully received the governor's kind letter and

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prefents, and would always give him notice of any designs of ill-minded Indians, that came to their knowledge. That when their chief men came from hunting, they would, with one heart, strive to know these Indians, who, by this action, had made themselves enemies to them as well as to the English.

November 18. Wenunganet wrote from St. George's to the lieutenant-governor, a friendly, long and sincere letter, concluding thus: "We look upon those Indians as much our enemies as yours, and think ourselves as much in danger from them as any of your people; and we are resolved to have satisfaction for the wrong done."

November 22. Captain Penhallow, from Georgetown, informed the lieutenant-governor, that Wivurna and Sheepscot John had seen four Indians, who informed him of women and children taken at Kennebunk, and carried away by Canada Indians.

January 2. Morcus, the chief sachem of the Kennebec Indians, wrote from St. George's to the lieutenant-governor, that "he was resolved to stand by the peace concluded, so long as God gives him breath."

On the 16th, Wivurna wrote to the lieutenant-governor, that he was fully satisfied, and all the blood that lay boiling before in his bosom was now washed off, and he would labour for a calm in the land; and if any windy clouds should rise, he would make haste to inform him, that they might do us no harm. In three things (said he) you make my heart glad: my grandson, that was dead, is alive, and safe returned to me; Canavas, that was taken, is returned safe, and is encouraged to do good service; and your kindness to me and my people, I am thankful for. I am now old and grey-headed: I have seen many good gentlemen, English, French, and Indians; many of them are dead; but of all, I have not found like governor Dummer for steadiness and justice. If I were a sagamore and young, the first thing I did should be to see your face; but as I am old, and not able to travel, I heartily salute you, my good friend.

WIVURNA.

I have transcribed this letter at length, as the perfection of the Indian style, and good sense that I have met with.

This

This savage had a soul sensible of true greatness and honour, goodness and justice ; and charmed with them in a governor or chief sachem. Governor Dummer merited the savages' esteem, and I account him the more honoured in it, the more barbarous and bloody he had been, who was now struck and softened by his steadiness and justice. His predecessor had shone thus in the eyes of these same savages, if men from among ourselves had not hindered him from being kind and just to them, as they now assisted his lieutenant to be.

On February 13, Morcus told Capt. Giles, that he had sent, by Canavas, to the Aresaguntacook, and those tribes, that none of them do any hurt to the English ; that he had found great kindness from them, and they were for peace, which he also should labour for.

The same day, Capt. Smith, the appointed truckmaster, acquainted Wenunganet and other chiefs, that he was ordered to advise them not to trade with others, lest they be wronged in their prices ; but he would do them justice. They answered, " That as to rum, they were well pleased ; but they should think it hard to be hindered trading with whom they pleased for other things. We are masters of our own things (said they), and we were told, at the conference, it was a free trade. And if we trade elsewhere, and are wronged, we shall not blame the government." This again was said as became a free and righteous people.

Some of the Indians having been rude and affronting at Capt. Giles's garrison, Wenunganet, a day or two after, very courteously desired him to take as little notice as possible of them ; for the party were few in number, and they had shamed him in their behaviour ; but he hoped to put a stop to it, that the like should not be again seen.

About this time, Laron wrote to the governor, requesting him that there might be but little rum sent to the truck-houses, for their young men could not use it well, and he found it hurt them in their health, and unfitted them to attend the prayers, and made them carry ill both to the English and their Indian brethren. This is the mind of all our chief men. I salute you, great governor, and am your good friend, Saguaram, alias Laron.

Before this, it seems that lieutenant-governor Dummer had given Laron some letter of recommendation, as a mark of his special respect; but Laron sent him a humble message, praying that it might be made some way beneficial to him, and that some tokens of special respect might be shewed him at our forts, or that a certain sum might annually be paid him, as he is daily labouring for the public good, or else he desired to resign up his recommendation.

The lieutenant-governor condescended to answer all the letters of Wenunganet, Morcus, Wivurna, Laron; writing to each of them with great humanity, such as shewed him a father to his country, while the Indians were ready to think him so to them. I have read the letters with a great deal of pleasure, as well as those to his officers in command and trust, in the eastern parts; which show his impartial justice to every one in their places, and his care that they paid a just regard to each other.

March 6. He wrote to Capt. Giles, that he had sent him a piece of the best strands, to be distributed in blankets at his discretion, to such Indians as should deserve it best of the government, by bringing intelligence or other-ways; and that he should endeavour that he might have always a supply for secret services; not doubting but he would faithfully apply them: Also, that he had sent a present for Wenunganet and Laron, a gun each, with their marks and names on them. He added, what the Indians said to you respecting the trade is right, that their goods are their own, and they may sell them to whom they please; but if they will sell to other people, than those the government have appointed to trade with them, and happen to be cheated, they must take it to themselves. The meanwhile, you will take all occasions to make the Indians sensible of the care the government have of their welfare, in providing every thing for them, they may need, without the least prospect of any gain.

Being favoured with a view of the minutes of council for the time wherein the letters I have been referring to, were received or written, I find that the honourable the lieutenant-governor laid every letter he received before his majesty's council, and took their advice and consent in

in every answer he made; which I note as a good instance, as of the wisdom and prudence of the present administration, so of the fidelity and diligence of the government, in their continual attendance on the public service, upon the most minute occasions.

By a letter, April 4, from Falmouth in Casco-Bay, we had advice, that the Indians, who sometime since went to Canada, were returned, and said that every thing was like to be quiet and peaceable. They also informed, that the people, who were taken from Kennebunk last fall, were all killed, except the boy; and that they were nine Indians from St. Francois that did it; and pretend they would not have killed them, had not the English pursued them so closely.

June 1. The lieutenant-governor, in his speech to the General Court, said, that he had the satisfaction to acquaint them, that the peace with the Indians seemed every day more established, by the steady, just, and honourable proceedings of the government; that he could not neglect that occasion of moving it to them once more, that a proper provision be speedily made for the encouragement of suitable persons, to undertake the instruction of the eastern Indians, especially their youth, in religion and good.

June 12. Capt. Heath, at Richmond fort, inclosed to his honour the lieutenant-governor, a letter from three of the chiefs of the Kennebeck, Wawenech, and Aresaguntacook tribes of Indians; giving an account of their sincere desires of a general peace, and requesting to have an interview with his honour. His honour took the advice of his majesty's council upon the motion, and determined to meet the Indians at Falmouth, or somewhere on Kennebeck river, in order to the ratifying the late treaty, with these tribes also.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 10th of July, his honour, with several gentlemen of the council, and divers members of the honourable house of representatives, embarked for Casco-Bay, where they arrived the next day; where also lieutenant-governor Wentworth met him from Piscataqua; and in a few days after, about an hundred Indians came thither of the Norridgewock, Aresaguntacook, and

and Wawenech tribes, desiring to come into the peace, made the last year with the Penobscots, that they might enjoy the benefits thereof.

August the 1st. The lieutenant-governor arrived at Boston, having ratified the peace with said tribes, with this additional article ; that the Indians should join fifty men of theirs with an hundred and fifty English, or in that proportion, as there might be occasion, to subdue any refractory Indians, that might attempt to disturb the peace.

A proclamation was emitted, strictly commanding and requiring all his majesty's good subjects to live in peace and amity with the Indians, and to give them all necessary comfort and assistance.

LETTER FROM HENRY NEWMAN, ESQ. TO THE REV.
HENRY FLYNT.

Middle Temple, 10th September, 1723.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your desire, I bespoke a copy of the statutes of the university of Cambridge, &c. and thought I had obtained a great curiosity ; but when I came to see what popish stuff they consisted of, I could not but applaud the prudence of the university, in not letting them be made public ; and if I had known either the emptiness of them, or the expense of transcribing them, which came to £.2 17 0 beside paper and binding, I should not have sought after them, but upon a more positive command than I had. Such as they are, I desire our college corporation will be pleased to accept them, and also the printed extract of the statutes of the university of Oxford, wherein, perhaps, some useful hints may be found for improving your discipline, if it wants improvement.

These are packed up in a box, sent to Mr. Dudley, and with them, the 3d and 4th volumes of Brandt's History of Reformation, and the 1st volume of Saurin's Dissertations on the Old and New-Testament, which our old benefactor, Mr. Chamberlayne, presented in quires to the college

college library; and I desire you, or Mr. President Leverett, would please to signify the receipt of them, with thanks to the benefactor.

I used formerly to present you with the binding of these benefactions that came to my hands in quires, but as they happen oftener than heretofore, which I wish they may continue to do, I hope you will not take it amiss, if I, for the future, charge the college with such articles as they occur.

The binding of Brandt's History of Re-	}	£. 0 9 0
formation, in 2 volumes, large folio, lettered, cost 4/6 each,		
Binding 1st vol. of Saurin's Disserta. folio,	}	0 3 6
$\frac{1}{3}$ of the petty charges of the box sent to Mr. Dudley, custom-house fees, &c. the		
college-books being two of the six folios contained in the box,		

£. 0 15 10

I am indebted to Mr. president Leverett for a kind, though short letter, of the 23d of May, which I hope to answer ere long. In the mean time, pray assure him of my most hearty respects, and let him know I have heard nothing of the address he therein mentions, neither from the governor nor Mr. Hollis.

I have wrote to colonel Quincy upon your political affairs, an account very unpleasing to repeat, and therefore beg leave to refer you to him.

I made the president's and your compliments to the governor, who returns his, and expresses a great esteem for you.

I hope you will see him early the next spring, and whatever he can do for the advancement of the college, I am sure you may depend on him for.

My duty to the corporation, and please to believe that I am, reverend and dear Sir,

your most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY NEWMAN.

Rev. Mr. Flynt.

LETTER

LETTER FROM PAUL MASCARENC TO GOV. SHIRLEY.

Annapolis-Royal, 6th April, 1748.

SIR,

THE most difficult task of any to me is my giving my opinion on the civil government proper for this province. I shall, however, proceed in the manner I have done in the preceding, relating to fortification, and give an account of the government that has subsisted, and the alterations made therein, since the year 1710, when this fort was reduced to the power of the crown of Great-Britain; from whence may appear the defects that may be proper to be amended.

At the reduction of this fort, no capitulation was made but for the garrison and the inhabitants of the Bantieue (a league round the fort); these had leave to withdraw with their effects, and to dispose of those they could not carry with them, for the space of two years. The rest of the inhabitants, all over the province, made terms that winter with the then governor Vetch, who received them on their submission, but no oath was required of them, except of the inhabitants of the Bantieue, for the time of the capitulation.

In 1714, Mr. Nicholson came over governor and commander in chief over the province, and proposed to the French inhabitants, the terms agreed on for them at the treaty of Utrecht, which were to keep their possessions, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great-Britain do allow, on their becoming subjects to the crown, or to dispose of them, if they chose to withdraw, within the space of a twelve month. They, to a man, chose the last, having great promises made to them by two officers, sent here for that purpose, from Cape Breton, then beginning to be settled by the French. But these not sending vessels to fetch away the inhabitants, they remained, and though often required to take the oaths of fidelity, they constantly refused it. The government, during this interval of time, was vested solely in the governor, and in his absence, in the lieutenant-governor or commander in chief of the garrison of Annapolis-Royal,

Royal, except a council of the captains formed by general Nicholson, which did not exist above five or six weeks.

Mr. Philips came over in 1719 captain-general over the province, with instructions to form a council of the principal of the British inhabitants; and till an assembly could be formed, to regulate himself by the instructions of the governor of Virginia. Governor Philips, for want of inhabitants, formed the council with the lieutenant-governor of the garrison, (Mr. Doucett) who, at the same time, was a captain in his regiment, and named first in the list of counsellors; his major, Laurence Armstrong; the first captain, Paul Mascarenc; Captain Southack, commander of the province schooner; the collector, Hibbert Newton; the chaplain, and other staff officers of the garrison; and Mr. Adams was the only inhabitant admitted. There was another (Mr. Winniett) who was not then named, but in process of time was called to the board; but afterwards dismissed on some disgust. The whole number was twelve; but as it was made up of transient persons, it was soon reduced; and to keep up the number of seven, the commander in chief took in officers of the garrison or regiment; subaltern officers being often judged more capable than their captains, which however has proved of ill consequence with regard to military subordination, in a place where the civil government had no other means to support itself but by the military power, the inferior officers, by being admitted of the council, thinking themselves above their superior officers. The first appearance of this, was when Mr. Armstrong, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, came, in the absence of governor Philips, to be under the command of Mr. Doucett, a captain in the same regiment, who was lieutenant-governor of the garrison, and as the first named in the list of counsellors, commanded in chief over the province. Colonel Armstrong going home, obtained the commission of lieutenant-governor over the province; but on his taking upon him, at his arrival here, the detail of the garrison, new disputes arose with the lieutenant-governor of the fort; in which, as the officers sided some one way and some another, proved of very ill consequence to the peace and good order of the place. At the decease of

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colonel,

colonel Armstrong, I found myself the next in the list of counsellors, and, of consequence, president for the time being, and with the ready agreement of Mr. Cosby, then major of the regiment, and lieutenant-governor of the regiment, I took upon me the administration of the civil affairs of the province; he being then in expectation to have an order from home to command over the whole province, in which failing, he made some motion to order me to Canso, thereby effectually to dissolve the civil government, upon which I received orders from home to continue at Annapolis-Royal at the head of the civil government. In the administration of it I endeavoured to carry myself with the utmost caution and moderation, submitting to his command in all things that related to the garrison and regiment, that were not opposite to the keeping up the civil government; and extending this no further than to the settling the differences between the inhabitants, and using the best means I could to keep them in a due subjection to his majesty. At colonel Cosby's decease, and in the absence of governor Philips, the whole authority and power, both civil and military, became vested in me, and was further corroborated when his majesty was graciously pleased to appoint me lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and lieutenant-governor of the garrison. This has prevented, at least, a clashing between two heads; but not between the heads and the members of the council, which I have made no addition to, but is composed, as I found it, of the surgeon of the garrison, William Sheene, the secretary, William Shirreff, the fort major, Erasmus James Philips, captain Handfield, lieutenant Amherst, lately gone with leave, and the deputy storekeeper, William Howe. These gentlemen, or the most of them, are of opinion, that, as in the civil government they reckon me only as *primus inter pares*, I can do nothing out of this fort without their participation and consent, not so much as to send a party out. Your Excellency knows too well the circumstances of the place as to think me in the wrong, if I have not conformed myself to this notion, or to several others of the like nature. I have, however, kept up the form of government as I found it, having conformed to the resolutions taken in council, in
what

what did not depend on secrecy or military operations ; and, in this last, I generally consulted the captains of men of war, when any were here, and the captains of the troops under my command. It is to be observed, that if I should depart this life, or remove, in the condition this place is now in, the civil government, according to the course followed hitherto, will be vested in the surgeon of this garrison, and the military on captain Heron, unless the first should pretend to have the chief direction in both, as it is presumed, not by a few. And if captain Heron, who indeed labours under a very ill state of health, should fail, captain Handfield is the next, but a younger counsellor, which will still bring the same perplexity, and may be of great detriment to his majesty's service, which I have represented ought to be provided against, but have had no answer.

Governor Philips having formed the council as before mentioned, issued out a proclamation, summoning the French inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance on the same terms offered to them as before, though the time prescribed had so long ago been elapsed. But these inhabitants in general still refused it, alledging, that they had been detained contrary to their desire, which indeed was partly true, as general Nicholson had declared they should not depart in vessels being built on English ground, or English bottoms, and that it belonged to the French to come and fetch them in their own. Governor Philips wrote home for fresh instructions how to act in this emergency, applying for more forces to prevent the French inhabitants from going away in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, or for bringing them into a due subjection ; for which he desired, if I remember right, two regiments, besides the four companies of his own, then at Annapolis-Royal, with proportionable shipping to transport these troops as occasion should require, and this in a time of profound peace, and when these inhabitants were not above a third of the number they are now increased to. In answer, he was directed not to use any violent measures, but to endeavour to keep the people easy till, at a proper time, it might be resolved how to proceed in this case.

The

The governor went home in 1722, and things remained in this situation, under the administration of Mr. Doucett, lieutenant-governor of Annapolis-Royal, and president for the time being, over the province, till Mr. Armstrong, having been made lieutenant-governor over the whole province, returned in 1725, and found means to bring the inhabitants to take the oath to the government; but on governor Philips returning some years after, these inhabitants complaining that this oath had been extorted by undue means, his excellency brought them at last to take it willingly, and the same was tendered, and taken, in general, by all the men of competent age, in all the settlements of this province: the tenor of this oath is inserted in the papers inclosed. The word *true* being interpreted *fidele*, has made it to be called the oath of fidelity. The French inhabitants intended to have a clause, not to be obliged to take up arms against the French, which, though not inserted, they have always stood was promised to them, and I have heard it owned by those who were at Manis when the oath was administered at that place, that such a promise was given to them in writing. This oath was reckoned to be little binding with people who had missionaries amongst them, supposed always forward to dispense the keeping it, and ready to absolve them on the breach of it. But hitherto the contrary has been evident; some of these priests having publicly declared that they would refuse the absolution, even at the point of death, to any that should join in arms with the French, and this at the time that Duvivier was at Manis and some of his officers, at the sermon where these words were pronounced. Their plea with the French, who pressed them to take up arms, was their oath, their living easy under the government, and their having no complaint to make against it. Your Excellency is acquainted with the means I have used for keeping this people and their priests in that temper. The using any force or violence against them, especially when the enemy was continually pouring into this province, might have drawn on very fatal consequences.

To keep up some form of government amongst the French inhabitants, governor Philips ordered them to
choose

choose a certain number amongst them, under the name of deputies, to act in behalf of the people, in publishing his orders, and making application when their occasions should require; which was accordingly obeyed. This river, divided into eight districts or hamlets, has eight deputies; the other settlements, mostly, four each; in all I reckon twenty-four. They are every year newly chose on the 10th of October, the anniversary of the king's coronation, and of the taking of this fort. They are invested with no judiciary power, but are appointed often as arbitrators in small cases, where, if any of the parties are not satisfied, appeal is made to the governor or commander in chief, and council. These differences, mostly in meum and tuum, were settled before the board, at three set times of the year, when the people of the several settlements up the bay used to resort for judgment on their pleas; but, since the war, have been postponed to be composed in more peaceable times. These inhabitants, though not one in an hundred can read and write, speak generally with good sense, and plead their own cases; but as they can only speak the French tongue, it is tedious for those members of the council who do not understand that language, and must have the substance repeated in English, before they can give their opinion. How far the power of this board extends, has been often a question; some extending it to all cases; others, again, reducing it to a mere power of arbitration. It is happy, in this perplexity, that no crimes of a capital nature have been committed for these thirty-eight years, except to what relates to the defection of some of the inhabitants. A boy, indeed, set his master's house on fire, on which, application was made at home, but no answer received.

There are here, persons prejudiced against the French inhabitants three different ways. The first is, by an imbibed notion that all who bear the name of French must be natural enemies of Great-Britain; the second, from views of interest and other relations, and those, so affected, though in public they can run down these inhabitants, yet, underhand, favour them, and are partial towards those by whom they find their interest promoted; the third, deem this people, by their being originally from another nation, and differing

ing in language, manners, relation and religion, no better than in a continual state of rebellion, and are ever talking of ouing them, transplanting or destroying them, without considering the circumstances this province has lately been, and still is, in, and the fatal consequences that might have ensued from any violent measures. Your Excellency may judge there has been no little difficulty accrued from the managing these different tempers.

What seems most wanted here is proper persons to form a civil government, there being no British planter or inhabitant that can properly be so called in this province. The French, of that denomination, as their religion will not allow of their taking the oath of supremacy, are, besides, generally of the lowest class of farmers or husbandmen, poor and unlearned, there being, as I mentioned before, not one in an hundred that can either read or write.

What is mentioned in this paper may suggest reflections on the present government, composed of military officers of the garrison; which reflections will appear more proper, when expressed by any other person than myself. I have numbered the several articles, that, if any explanation is required on any of them, reference may be made thereto the more easily. As I was copying this fair, the little schooner came in. I comply with your further desire of a copy of governor Philips's letters patent; those he had from the late king are, I believe, registered in Boston, in 1719. I have added the ten first articles of his instructions, from the original in my hands, with the true form of the oath taken by the French inhabitants, whereof I had mentioned the substance above: by all which, I hope your Excellency will have a true notion of our state and constitution, and be enabled to point out means to amend it. In which I beg leave to remind you, that the state of a commanding officer is not very advantageous, not only to himself, but even to the public service, where he has nothing wherewith to reward those who behave well, and a coercive power, clogged with many difficulties, over those who behave ill.

I am, with great esteem and respect, Sir,
your most humble and most obedient servant,

MASCARENC.

PRINCE AND BOSWORTH'S PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PLYMOUTH, RELATIVE TO THE MACKAREL FISHERY.

To the Right Honoured Magistrates and Deputie of the General Court of New-Plymouth, now sitting.

THE wise providence of the great Guider of all men and actions having so ordered, by his providence, to bring me here in this juncture of time, wherein there hath been brought under consideration that fishing design, of late years found out at Cape Cod, for mackarel with nets; which, when we came from home, I may truly say, I had not the least thought to have, in the least manner, troubled this honoured assembly with things about; yet being here, and understanding that possibly there may be brought under consideration, something in order to the restraint of foreigners from fishing there; and it may seem an expedient, founded on good reason, that it should so be, I would humbly intreat this honoured Court, that I may, as I desire with humbleness, so I may without any offence to this honoured Assembly, present you with some particulars referring to that small town of Hull, in which we live.

May it therefore please this honoured Court to understand, that my humble request is, first, whether that the honoured Court may not have or see just cause why our little and small place of Hull, though out of your jurisdiction, may still enjoy the privileges we have hitherto had, though others should be denied; and the reasons I would humbly suggest are these; first, because we were some of the first that were the discoverers and first bringers of it to light, as it now is attended to the profit of the whole colony here, which we could willingly think were some ground to build our hopes on, for the enjoyment of such a privilege. Secondly, because we humbly conceive that those of your town, who have been on that employ, will say, as well as we know that ours coming there have been, a further aim and no hindrance to them. And, thirdly, let me with all humbleness say, that, had it not been

been for some of us, we believe it had not been kept afoot to this time; for our friends in your patent, after the first or second voyage, had given it off again, and had not some of us kept on, and so been instrumental, beating out by evening there, and travelling on the shore at all times and seasons, and so discovered the way to take them in light as well as dark nights, it had not been so certain a thing as now it is; or had we kept but that one thing private, we know it had, if we may inoffensively so speak, been a great obstruction to it to this day. But we were open-hearted to yours, and told them what we knew, and we would hope that your Honours, and this honoured Assembly would be so to us. We humbly beseech your Worthies not to be offended, though we thus speak, if it may be said, that as we were the first that laboured in it, so we have had the first and most profit by it; may it please you to let us freely say, without offence, that this last year, wherein your both persons and colony had the opportunity to improve it, hath yielded more profit clear than two or three years before, because we were but just now come fully to understand it; but the truth is, by reason of the dearness of salt, and lowness of mackarel in the years before, and our gaining was not so considerable; especially add this to it, that in three, we lost one voyage, for want of understanding what we have made them acquainted with, as to the light moons. But if you think that the motion, as to the whole town, may be too large, because it may be there may be very many, we humbly leave it to the honoured Court to bound the town to what number you see good, two or three, or what you see good; and so having made bold to present and trouble you with lines, I pray account it not a presumption, but an humble request in the behalfs of that little town of ours, which hath a great part of its livelihood by fishing. And so, in all humbleness, leaving these things to your consideration, I humbly take leave, and rest your humble petitioners, in the half of ourselves and town,

JOHN PRINCE.

NATHANIEL BOSWORTH.

Plymouth, this 8th June, 1671.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM BOLLAN, AGENT FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS, AT THE COURT OF GREAT-BRITAIN, TO JOSIAH WILLARD, SECRETARY OF THAT PROVINCE, RESPECTING AN INTENTION OF GOVERNING THE COLONIES LIKE IRELAND.

Henrietta Street, March 5, 1755.

SIR,

IT is proper for me to acquaint you with some intelligence gained while the clause for extending the mutiny bill to the provincial troops was depending, and which I shall endeavour to give you exactly as I received it, viz. when I attended at the House of Commons to have my petition against the clause presented, the member, who was to present it, happening not to come down so early as I expected, and it being necessary the speaker should see it before offered, and fearing there would not be time enough left for it, I got a ministerial member of my acquaintance to shew it to the speaker, who, upon returning it to me, told me that if received, it would not be entered at large upon the minutes, for that would be speaking out to the people in America. This I believe slipped from him inadvertently; and two other members of good intelligence, firm friends of the colonies, and one of them a person of very considerable note, while this affair was in motion, told me that it was intended, by some persons of consequence, that the colonies should be governed like Ireland, keeping up a body of standing forces, with a military chest there; to which one of them, who was bred a lawyer, added, the abridgment of their legislative powers, so as to put them on the same foot that Ireland stands by Poyning's law. You are sensible, that since Poyning's act, in Ireland, the 10th of Henry VII. no act can pass, in their parliament there, till it be first assented to by the king and privy council of England. This information was given me with an injunction that it should not be made public; but with an intent, doubtless, that the proper use should be made of it; and accordingly I now communicate it to you, adding, that another very intelligent and worthy person, a great friend of the colonies,

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colonies, has lately, at several times, made the like observations to me, with respect to the keeping up a standing military force in the colonies. I need not observe to you, Sir, that we live in times which require great caution, circumspection, and secrecy, on many occasions. From what has been said to me, by a great man, I have some suspicion that my intelligence has been discovered; and I have been at a loss to know whether my letters to you, in your public capacity, are wholly confined to the members of the General Court, and whether, by the nature of your office, there be any security that the intelligence, which they receive from their agent, is not open to those, who ought not to be made acquainted with it. Permit me to observe, that an improper discovery, in this case, may not only prevent future intelligence, but also be attended with other inconveniences; wherefore I desire, that before mention be made of this matter, to any one, you will be pleased to confer with Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Hubbard concerning the proper use to be made of this intelligence, which, being given you just as I received it, you will be able to judge what credit and regard is due to it.

I am with great esteem, Sir,
your most obedient and most humble servant,

W. BOLLAN.

To the Hon. JOSIAH WILLARD, Esquire.

MR. BOLLAN'S PETITION TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD,
RELATIVE TO FRENCH ENCROACHMENTS, 1748.

To his Grace the Duke of Bedford, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, &c.

The memorial of William Bollan, Esq. Agent for the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, and specially appointed to attend his majesty's ministers for the preservation of Nova-Scotia,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT by the treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht, 31st March, 11th April, 1713, between the queen of Great-Britain and the most christian king, (article 12), it was agreed, that all Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient

cient boundaries, also the city of Port-Royal, then called Annapolis-Royal, and all other things in those parts, which depend on the said lands, should thereafter be possessed alone by British subjects; and all right whatsoever, by treaty, or by any other way obtained, which the most christian king, the crown of France, or any the subjects thereof, had hitherto had to the said lands and places, was, by the same treaty, yielded and made over by his most christian majesty to the queen of Great-Britain and to her crown for ever.

That the cession of all Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries, must, as your memorialist conceives, necessarily be understood to comprehend all that country, which was first granted to Sir William Alexander by king James the first, who, by the same grant, gave it the name of Nova-Scotia, and by which it is expressly bounded by the river Canada, now called St. Lawrence.

That the country lying between Nova-Scotia and the ancient province of Main, which was granted by king Charles the second to the duke of York, is, by the original grant thereof, bounded by the river Canada. And by the charter granted to the inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay, by king William and queen Mary, that river is plainly supposed to be one of the chief boundaries of the lands thereby granted to them; it being therein expressly provided, "That no grant of any lands lying or extending from the river of Sagadahock to the gulf of St. Lawrence and Canada rivers, and to the main sea northward and eastward, to be made by the governor and general assembly of the said province, be of any force, without the approbation of their majesties, their heirs, and successors." So that the river Canada, being the natural and great boundary between the British and French colonies lying to the eastward, has, as your memorialist apprehends, been, and ought to be, at all times, held and insisted upon as such, by the English.

That by the treaty aforesaid, (article 15), the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians were declared subject to the dominion of Great-Britain.

That these nations being declared subject to the dominion of Great-Britain, by both crowns, the dominion in chief

chief over all their country must, according to this treaty, necessarily of right belong to the crown of Great Britain only ; excluding, utterly, his most christian majesty from all rule and dominion therein.

That the lakes Cadaracui or Ontario and Erie, which, taken together, extend from east to west near five hundred miles, and the large countries lying on the north and south sides thereof, extending southward unto the other territories of his Britannic majesty, belong to the Iroquois or Five Nations ; they having long since conquered, destroyed, and extirpated the numerous nations, which inhabited those countries ; and, by consequence, the sovereignty over all the said lands and waters appertains to his Britannic majesty.

That, nevertheless, his most christian majesty, in manifest violation of the aforesaid treaty, and in derogation of his Britannic majesty's right of sovereignty, did, during the late peace, erect a fort on the east side of the Erie streight or river, running out of lake Erie into lake Cadaracui, and near the mouth of it ; that is, in the body of the country belonging to the Iroquois or Five Nations. Their settlements at this place being obtained in the following manner : the Five Nations have a custom, among them, of adopting some of the prisoners they take in war ; and one M. de Jonquiere, a Frenchman, having, in his youth, been made a prisoner by the Sennekas, called by the French Honnonthauans, one of the Five Nations, and he having been adopted into that nation, and become a great favourite with them, and having afterwards returned to his own country, and been made an officer in the French army, was, for that reason, pitched upon as the most proper person to effect this establishment. Thereupon the said Jonquiere went among the Sennekas ; and, at an assembly of their chiefs, assured them, it would be the greatest pleasure in the world to him to live with his brethren, and said, he should visit them more frequently if they would allow him a cabanne for his retirement. They answered, that they should ever regard him as one of their children, and that he might lodge himself in the place which he should judge most commodious for him. The other four nations opposed this proceeding in favour
of

of M. de Jonquiere; but the Five Nations being independent one of another, in many respects, and jealous of that independence, the Sennekas, not perceiving M. de Jonquiere's real intent, insisted upon it, that he was a child of their nation, and ought to enjoy his right, and he thereupon prevailed. Though, in fact, while he was urging the rights of his adoption, he was really acting by commission and order from the governor of Canada, and endeavouring to establish a fortress for the French king in the British dominions. And he having, under this colour, gained the permission he prayed for, a house was built and fortified, so that a real fort was established. The French pretend, that after the making of the treaty of Utrecht between the two crowns, the Five Nations protested against the article, declaring them to be subject to the crown of Great-Britain.

This protestation, if ever made, was probably the effect of management of the French; but could give the French no right to erect a fortress in a country, which, by treaty then subsisting, was by them declared subject to the crown of Great-Britain.

That the French, during the late peace, and ever since, have maintained armed vessels upon Cadaracui lake; by means whereof, and of the fort abovementioned, which stands on the south-west side of said lake, and of fort Cadaracui, or Frontenac, which stands on the north-east side thereof, and was built long since by consent of the Iroquois, to serve, as they understood, as a store-house for merchandise, but was afterwards converted into a fort, the French command, in a great measure, the lake and adjacent country.

That, notwithstanding the great notoriety of the extended property of the Five Nations, and his majesty's right of sovereignty over the same, the French now claim both the lakes aforementioned, as part of the lakes of Canada, and all the lands adjacent, including the chief part of the Iroquois country.

The better to countenance such their pretensions, it was lately given in charge to M. Bellin, engineer of the marine of France, to prepare charts or maps of the countries, they claim on the continent of North-America, to

to be published to the world; whereupon the same have been so prepared and drawn, as to enlarge the dominions of the French at the expense of the English, whose American empire they would reduce to such narrow limits, that, measuring according to M. Bellin's charts of Louisiana, and the neighbouring countries, across the province of New-York, and near the capital of it, from the extent of Canada, as expressly therein declared, to the Atlantic ocean, the land belonging to the crown of Great-Britain will be found reduced to the breadth of about fifty common marine leagues of England and France, of twenty to a degree. And your memorialist is concerned that he has occasion to say, that, upon examining the maps lately published at London, together with a large work, intitled, "A complete System of Geography," &c. (which is published with his majesty's royal privilege and licence), which maps are said to be drawn by his majesty's geographer, he finds not only that both the lakes Cadaracui and Erie, and all the lands lying on the north, together with the great villages of the Iroquois, and a great part of their country lying on the south sides of those lakes, are thereby assigned to the French as part of Canada; but also, that, measuring in manner aforesaid, across the said province of New-York, from the declared extent of Canada to the Atlantic sea, according to the map intitled, "A new and accurate map of Louisiana, and part of Florida and Canada, and the adjacent countries, drawn from surveys, assisted by the most approved English and French maps and charts," the British empire is there further reduced, and brought to about thirty leagues in breadth. And the map of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-York, and New-England, with the adjacent countries, published with the said system of geography, and likewise said to be drawn from surveys, assisted by the most approved modern maps and charts, extends Canada still further over the Iroquois country towards the city of New-York.

That his Britannic majesty's dominions and the Iroquois country extend from the east end of lake Cadaracui, and from the other lands of the Iroquois beforementioned eastward, upon the great river of the Iroquois, called, by the

the modern French geographers, and others following them, the river of St. Lawrence, although called by M. de L'Isle, the great French geographer, and others, by its proper name, the river of the Iroquois, extending eastward and southward, unto his majesty's other territories, and comprehending the lake of the Iroquois, now called by the French lake Champlain, and by the English sometimes lake Chumplain, and at others lake Champlain, Corlear, or the sea of the Iroquois; but called by the Dutch; when they possessed the province of New-York, as well as by the English geographers of that time, by its antient true and proper name, the lake, or sea of the Iroquois only.

That during the late peace, the French erected at Crown-Point, on the west side of the lake last mentioned, and near the bottom of it, a fort of considerable strength; which stands at the distance of about thirty-one leagues from the Atlantic ocean, according to M. Bellin's chart of the eastern part of New-France or of Canada, drawn also, by order, to be published; measuring across the province of New-Hampshire, near Portsmouth, the principal town. From this fort, the French, during the war now ending, sallied out, with a party of their Indian allies, and destroyed Saratoga, in the province of New-York, and committed other ravages there, putting in danger the ancient city of Albany; and took fort Massachusetts, belonging to the province of that name; and broke up and destroyed divers towns and settlements in that province, rendering desolate a considerable part of it.— This fort at Crown-Point stands near the outward settlements in several of his majesty's provinces, and favours the incursions of the French, in time of war, to that degree, that, instead of the English being able to go on to improve the small pittance of waste lands, which seems to be left for them by the French, they will not be able to support their settlements already made; especially when the French plantations, covered by this strong fortress, shall be increased and strengthened so far as they will, in a short time, very probably be, in case this place be continued in their possession.

That the French have already made some few settlements

ments on the eastern side of the lake, which is the side next to the English settlements. And they not only claim, but, as they flatter themselves, have now also secured lake Sacrament, a smaller lake, which lies at a little distance from, and communicates with the other. This lesser lake lies at the distance of near twenty-eight leagues from the western ocean, according to M. Bellin's map last mentioned. And they extend their claim still further southward from the last lake, declaring New-France or Canada to extend so far there, that, according to the same map, it comes within twenty-six leagues of the sea lying off Portsmouth.

That with respect to the country lying further eastward, and extending to the gulf of Canada or St. Lawrence, it appears to your memorialist, that some obscurity, or artful uncertainty, has been studied and used in drawing and finishing this chart of the eastern part of New-France; but according to the best judgment your memorialist can form of it, after considering also their other charts, their conduct and pretensions, they dispose, or purpose to dispose of it in the following manner: Of the country lying to the eastward of the lake of the Iroquois, between the river Canada, or St. Lawrence, and the ocean, and extending eastward to the country marked out for Nova-Scotia, and which is of the breadth of fifty-two leagues, or thereabouts, instead of confining themselves on the north side of the river, they assign a part for New-England about twenty leagues broad, taking the rest to themselves. And as they now say, that Acadia comprehends only the peninsula, or the tract of land almost divided from the continent by the bay of Fundy, and bay Verte, after leaving this peninsula to the English, the remainder of the country, which is about sixty-three leagues broad, they would divide by assigning to the English about one third part of it, lying to the south, taking the rest to themselves; including all that lies upon the gulf of St. Lawrence to the northward of Richibouctou, opposite to the north end of the island of St. John's.

That at the time of the reduction of Nova-Scotia to the obedience of her late majesty queen Anne, and at the time of its cession, there was a French settlement at Gaspée,

bordering

bordering upon the gulf of Canada, made, as your memorialist apprehends, not by any of the ancient inhabitants of Nova-Scotia, or their descendants, but by persons who came directly from old France. Over these people, the English have not, as your memorialist understands, at any time during the late peace, or the war now ending, exercised the least authority; but the people living there, although within the boundaries of Nova-Scotia, and at a place particularly named in the grant of that province to Sir William Alexander, have continued wholly under the government of the French. This settlement is increased so far, that, before the commencement of this war, the French used to load there, annually, with fish, about six sail of ships.

That the French have also made encroachments by some settlements on the south side of Canada river, in the English country lying to the westward of Nova-Scotia.

That the preservation of the ancient boundaries of Nova-Scotia, and keeping the French on the north side of Canada river, appears to your memorialist to be a matter of very great importance; because, that not only a considerable part of the country will be lost with that boundary, whenever lost, but another boundary, in your memorialist's opinion, will scarce ever be found and established; so that the English will be unable to enjoy what shall be left them, by the new boundary, with any tolerable certainty or safety, but endless contests and quarrels will ensue.— And further, the French will have obtained very great advantages, by having established their footing on the south side of the river. And, in the next place, the English, by parting with the river, their ancient boundary to this province, will necessarily prejudice, in a great degree, their boundaries to divers other provinces, whose northern boundaries are not better, if so well, ascertained as that of Nova-Scotia. And the French likewise, by getting over the river, will have greater opportunities of influencing the inhabitants of Nova-Scotia, who are, as your grace is sensible, already inclined to them. And this province, having been the object of desire in the French, ever since the settlement of the two nations in America, and more especially such of late, they will

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doubtless

doubtless use their utmost efforts to gain or increase an interest there.

That the maintenance of his majesty's sovereignty over the Five Nations and their country, and securing their attachment to the English, is a matter of the greatest consequence; as their country is of such large extent; is situated in the best latitudes; prevents the junction of the French settlements on the rivers Canada and Mississippi; and gives us an opening to the western and northern Indians; and as the Five Nations are the most warlike people on the continent of North America, and who have been a great defence to the English colonies, and the principal check to the growth of the French power.

That the French having long since gained a part of the Five Nations, and a few years ago been able to render those nations in general dissatisfied and wavering in their fidelity to the British crown, they will doubtless use their utmost endeavours to improve that dislike, which those nations, at this time, unhappily have to the English.

The premises duly considered, it is humbly submitted to your grace, whether it be not necessary, that, by the treaty of peace at this time depending, the French be confined to the north side of the river Canada; and that they cause all their forts and settlements on the south side of that river to be destroyed, evacuated or delivered up to his Britannic majesty; and that they entirely quit the country of the Five Nations.

W. BOELAN.

GOV. HAMILTON'S LETTER TO GOV. SHIRLEY.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

SIR,

I RECEIVED, two days ago, by express, the letter and papers herein inclosed, from Col. Washington, who had proceeded, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men of the Virginia forces, to the New Virginia store on Potowmack, within one hundred and thirty miles of the river Ohio, where Capt. Trent had began to build
a fort

a fort for the reception and security of those forces ; at which place he received the disagreeable account of the French having made themselves masters of that fort, and of the retreat of the people employed in building it. As governor Dinwiddie, to whom the king has committed the conduct of this expedition, had not, when he wrote last, which was on the twenty-seventh of last month, received any information of this transaction at Ohio, I cannot pretend to say what alteration it may occasion in the measures he had concerted ; but I think we may now daily expect to hear from himself on that head ; in the mean time, I could not dispense with imparting to you the forementioned intelligence by express ; and am, with very great respect,

your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES HAMILTON.

His Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq.

P. S. I propose writing to your Excellency soon, more fully, on the subject of your last.

MAJOR WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

HONOURABLE SIR,

IT is with the greatest concern I acquaint you, that Mr. Ward, ensign in captain Trent's company, was compelled to surrender his small fort, in the forks of Monongahela, to the French, on the 17th instant ; who fell down from Venango, with a fleet of three hundred and sixty batteaux and canoes, with upwards of one thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, which they planted against the fort, drew up their men, and sent the inclosed summons to Mr. Ward, who, having but an inconsiderable number of men, and no cannon, to make a proper defence, was obliged to surrender. They suffered him to draw off his men, arms, and working tools ; and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants.

I have heard of your Honour's great zeal for his majesty's service, and for all our interests on the present occasion. You will see, by the inclosed speech of the Half King,

King, that the Indians expect some assistance from you ; and I am persuaded you will take proper notice of their moving speech, and their unshaken fidelity.

I thought it more adviseable to acquaint your honour with it immediately, than to wait till you could get intelligence by the way of Williamsburg and the young man, as the Half King proposes.

I have arrived thus far, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. Colonel Fry, with the remainder of the regiment, and artillery, is daily expected. In the mean time, we advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads, as we march, fit for the carriage of our great guns, &c. and are designed to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek, which enters Monongahela about thirty-seven miles above the fort, taken by the French, from whence we have a water carriage down the river : And there is a store-house built by the Ohio company, which may serve for a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions.

Besides these French, that came from Venango, we have credible accounts, that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence, that six hundred of the Chipoways and Ottoways are marching down Scioto creek, to join them. I hope your honour will excuse the freedom I have assumed in acquainting you with these advices ; it was the warm zeal I owe my country that influenced me to it, and occasioned this express. I am, with all due respect and regard, your Honour's most obedient and very humble servant,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. James Hamilton, Esq.
governor of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

A true copy, examined by *Richard Peters*, secretary.

James Foley, the express, says, he left Mr. Washington at the new store on Potowmack, about one hundred and thirty miles from Capt. Trent's fort, at the mouth of Monongahela, on Saturday 27th April.

A SUMMON,

A SUMMON, BY ORDER OF CONTRECOEUR, CAPTAIN OF ONE OF THE COMPANIES OF THE DETACHMENT OF THE FRENCH MARINE; COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY'S TROOPS NOW ON THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER—TO THE COMMANDER OF THOSE OF THE KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER MONONGAHELA,

SIR,

NOTHING can surprise me more, than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the king my master; which obliges me now, Sir, to send you this gentleman, chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the bombardiers, commander of the artillery of Canada, to know of you, Sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the king my master? This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace, concluded at Aix la Chapelle, between his most christian majesty and the king of Great-Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable, that the lands, situated along the Beautiful river, belong to his most christian majesty.

I am informed, Sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade, than to endeavour to keep the union and harmony, which subsist between the crowns of France and Great-Britain, although it is as much the interest, Sir, of your nation, as ours, to prevent it.

Let it be as it will, Sir, if you come into this place charged with orders, I summon you, in the name of the king my master, by virtue of orders, which I got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not return; or else I find myself obliged to fulfil my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, Sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, Sir, you may be persuaded, that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

I prevent you, Sir, from the trouble of asking me one
hour

King, that the Indians expect some assistance from you ; and I am persuaded you will take proper notice of their moving speech, and their unshaken fidelity.

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I have arrived thus far, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. Colonel Fry, with the remainder of the regiment, and artillery, is daily expected. In the mean time, we advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads, as we march, fit for the carriage of our great guns, &c. and are designed to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek, which enters Monongahela about thirty-seven miles above the fort, taken by the French, from whence we have a water carriage down the river : And there is a store-house built by the Ohio company, which may serve for a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions.

Besides these French, that came from Venango, we have credible accounts, that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence, that six hundred of the Chipoways and Ottoways are marching down Scioto creek, to join them. I hope your honour will excuse the freedom I have assumed in acquainting you with these advices ; it was the warm zeal I owe my country that influenced me to it, and occasioned this express. I am, with all due respect and regard, your Honour's most obedient and very humble servant,

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I am informed, Sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade, than to endeavour to keep the union and harmony, which subsist between the crowns of France and Great-Britain, although it is as much the interest, Sir, of your nation, as ours, to prevent it.

Let it be as it will, Sir, if you come into this place charged with orders, I summon you, in the name of the king my master, by virtue of orders, which I got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not return; or else I find myself obliged to fulfil my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, Sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, Sir, you may be persuaded, that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

I prevent you, Sir, from the trouble of asking me one
hour

hour of delay, nor to wait for my consent to receive orders from your governor; he can give none within the dominions of the king my master; those I have received from my general are my laws, so that I cannot depart from them.

If, on the contrary, Sir, you have not got orders, and only come to trade, I am sorry to tell you, that I cannot avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies, and friends; as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, Sir, that we stopped two Englishmen, last year, who were trading upon our lands. Moreover, the king my master asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship, which reigns between his majesty and the king of Great-Britain.

The governor of Canada can give proof of having done his utmost endeavours, to maintain the perfect union, which reigns between two friendly princes; as he had learned that the Iroquois and Nepissingues of the lake of the two mountains, had struck and destroyed an English family, towards Carolina, he has barred up the road, and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to the family, which was the only one alive, and which Mr. Wlerick, a merchant of Montreal, has since carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid the savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English our friends.

I could complain bitterly, Sir, of the means taken, all last winter, to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet, and strike us, while we were striving to maintain the peace.

I am well persuaded, Sir, of the polite manner in which you will receive Mr. Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business, as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back with one of your officers, who will bring me a precise answer. As you have got some Indians with you, Sir, I join with Mr. Le Mercier an interpreter, that he may inform them of my intention upon that subject. I am, with great regard, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, CONTRECOEUR.

Done at our camp, April 16th, 1754.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754.

A true copy, examined by *Richard Peters*, secretary.

SPEECH FROM THE HALF KING TO THE GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA; REFERRED TO IN MAJOR WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

From the fort on Ohio, April the 18th, 1754.

A Speech sent by the Half King* Seruniyattha, and the belt of wampum to the governor of Virginia and governor of Pennsylvania.

BROTHERS the English, the bearer is to let you know how we were used by the French. We have been waiting this long time for the French to strike us; now we see what they design to do with us, we are ready to strike them now, and wait for your assistance. Be strong, and come as soon as possible you can, and you shall find us your true brothers, and shall find us as ready to strike them as you are. We have sent those two young men to see when you were ready to come, and then they are to come to us, and let us know where you are, that we may come and meet you; and we would desire, if you could, that the men from both provinces would meet at the forks of the road. And now, if you do not come to our relief, we are gone entirely, and shall never meet I believe, which grieves my heart. To confirm this to be truth, here is my wampum I have sent.

Gave a string of wampum.

The Half King made this speech to me; now I depend upon you to go with those two young men to both governors yourself; for I have no dependence on those that are gone so long, and have never returned nor sent any word.

Delivered to me by John Davison, an intrepeter.

*Philadelphia, 6 May, 1754. A true copy,
examined by Richard Peters, Secretary.*

A LIST

* The Name of the Indian chief.

A LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, UNDER THE FIRST CHARTER ; AND OF THE GOVERNORS, UNDER THE SECOND CHARTER, COLLECTED FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

FOR the year 1647 John Coggeshall, President,
 1648 Jeremiah Clarke,
 1649 John Smith,
 1650 Nicholas Easton,
 1651 ditto.

This year, 1651, William Coddington went to England, and procured from the council of state a commission, constituting him governor of Rhode-Island, and the islands belonging to the same ; with which he returned in the fall of the year 1651. This caused very great uneasiness and confusion in the colony, all the inhabitants upon the main refusing submission to Coddington's government. The colony appointed Mr. Roger Williams and Mr. John Clarke to go to the court of London, to procure Coddington's commission to be vacated, which they effected in the year 1653 ; after which, Mr. Williams returned, and on the 12th of September, 1654, was chosen president, agreeable to the charter and the laws of the colony. Mr. Clarke remained in England as the colony's agent, until he obtained the last ample charter from Charles II. in 1663.

For the year 1655 Roger Williams was chosen president,
 1656 ditto,
 1657 Benedict Arnold,
 1658 ditto,
 1659 ditto,
 1660 William Brenton,
 1661 ditto,
 1662 Benedict Arnold,
 1663 ditto.

This year, on the 8th of July, king Charles II. signed the last charter, whereby Benedict Arnold was constituted governor.

The following is a list of the governors, chosen annually

ally on the first Wednesday in May, agreeable to this charter;—where the years are not specified, the same governor was continued in office.

<i>Governors.</i>	<i>Years when chosen.</i>	<i>Years governed.</i>
Benedict Arnold,	1663	3
William Brenton,	1666	3
Benedict Arnold,	1669	3
Nicholas Easton,	1672	2
William Coddington,	1674	2
Walter Clarke,	1676	1
Benedict Arnold,	1677	2
John Cranston,	1679	1
Peleg Sanford,	1680	3
William Coddington,	1683	2
Henry Bull,	1685	1
Walter Clarke,	1686	1
The charter superseded by Sir Edmund Andross,	1687 } 1688 }	
Henry Bull,	1689	1
John Easton,	1690	5
Caleb Carr,	1695	1
Walter Clarke,	1696	2
Samuel Cranston,	1698	29
Joseph Jenckes,	1727	5
William Wanton,	1732	2
John Wanton,	1734	7
Richard Ward,	1741	2
William Greene,	1743	2
Gideon Wanton,	1745	1
William Greene,	1746	1
Gideon Wanton,	1747	1
William Greene,	1748	7
Stephen Hopkins,	1755	2
William Greene,	1757	1
Stephen Hopkins,	1758	4
Samuel Ward,	1762	1
Stephen Hopkins,	1763	2
Samuel Ward,	1765	2
Stephen Hopkins,	1767	1
Josias Lyndon,	1768	1
Joseph Wanton,	1769	6

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Nicholas.

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Newport, 1800.		

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JAY, COR-
RESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
TO ITS CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Albany, 8th October, 1799.

SIR,

ON reading the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1798, which you was so obliging as to send me, I observe a mistake, which I will take the liberty of mentioning.

The report of the committee of the board of correspondents of the Scots Society for propogating christian knowledge, who visited the Oneida and Mohekunuh Indians, in 1796, is one of the papers published in this volume of collections. The report contains twenty-four queries, with the answers of the committee. The following are among them.

Query 18—Are any of them under the guardianship of the state of New-York?

The *answer* contains, among others, the following paragraph. "The Brothertown Indians are more particularly under the guardianship of the state, as may be seen by a late act of assembly, a copy of which accompanies this report."

Query 19—What sums of money or quantities of goods do they receive from the state; how are they divided, and what use do the Indians make of them?

The *answer* contains, among others, the following paragraph, viz. "The Brothertown Indians receive an annuity of 2160 dollars, which sum is partly appropriated to the purpose of maintaining a school, partly to the payment of an *attorney* to transact their business, and the remainder to be applied to *their* benefit as *he* shall judge proper."

The

The act of assembly alluded to, was passed the 4th March, 1796, and is entitled, "an act for the relief of the Indians who are entitled to land in Brothertown." Among many other provisions in it, there is the following, viz. "The treasurer of this state, for the time being, shall, on the first Monday in August next, and on the first Monday in August in every year thereafter, out of any money then in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, pay to the order of the *person administering the government* of this state for the time being, the sum of eight hundred and sixty-four pounds six shillings and four pence, being the amount of the interest of fourteen thousand four hundred and five pounds six shillings and eight pence, at the rate of six per cent. *who shall cause so much thereof as may be necessary for that purpose, to be applied for erecting a school-house, and maintaining a school in Brothertown, for the education of Indian children, and the remainder, after payment of the salary to the attorney herein after mentioned, to and for the benefit of the Indians then residing in Brothertown, in such manner as he shall judge proper.*"

The answer to the 19th query inadvertently applies the word *he* to the attorney, whereas it relates to "the person administering the government of this state, for the time being."

Immediately after the passing of the act, and in pursuance of it, three discreet and respectable superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown Indians were appointed. They personally visit the settlement, inspect the state of their affairs, and become informed of their wants, and consequently of the kind and quantity of the supplies most necessary and proper to be provided for them. The superintendents make annual reports to the governor, and usually specify, in detail, the various objects to which the *remainder* of the annuity, after payment of stated salaries, should, in their opinion, be applied. The governor thereupon gives orders for the application, either agreeable to their advice, or with such variations as he may judge expedient. The superintendents annually present their accounts and vouchers to the treasury department, where they are examined and settled by the comptroller, who regularly

regularly certifies the same. I subjoin a copy of his last certificate; it will evince the precise and accurate manner in which the business is conducted.

Being persuaded that the information and remarks contained in this letter will be acceptable to the Society, I request the favour of you to lay it before them.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,
Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

The Rev. Dr. JOHN ELIOT, correspond-
ing secretary of the Massachusetts
Historical Society.

COPY.

"Superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown
Indians to the state of New-York,

Dr.
dolls. cu.

1798.	December 7.	To cash from the treasurer	
		by warrant No. 718	2160 79
	26.	To balance of their last ac-	
		count	632 57

2793 36

Credit.

1799.	August 8.	By the amount of their ac-	
		count	1125 73

Balance in the hands of the superintendents	1667 63
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"State of New-York—Office of Comptroller.

"I have examined the above account, and do certify, that William Floyd, Edmund Prior, and Thomas Eddy, the superintendents of the affairs of the Brothertown Indians, have produced vouchers for the expenditure of one thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and seventy-three cents, of the money they received out of the treasury of this state, on the warrant of the comptroller, dated the seventh day of December last, by order of his Excellency the governor of this state, pursuant to the third section of the act for the relief of the Indians who are entitled to lands in Brothertown; and that, including the balance of their former account, the sum of one thousand six

fix hundred and sixty-seven dollars and sixty-three cents remains in their hands, to be applied to and for the benefit of the Indians residing in Brothertown, in such manner as his Excellency the governor shall judge proper and direct.

(Signed) "Samuel Jones, Comptroller.
"Albany, 2d October, 1799."

N. B. It is intended to build a grist-mill at Brothertown, and hence the present unexpended balance is considerable.

A LETTER FROM THE TREASURER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO THE PRESIDENT, ON THE PROPRIETY AND EXPEDIENCY OF AN APPROPRIATE NATIONAL NAME, DESIGNATORY OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, AS A DISTINCT PEOPLE FROM THE OTHER INHABITANTS OF THE TWO VAST AMERICAN PENINSULAS.

12 December, 1799.

SIR,

A PERIOD of twenty-three years has elapsed since the people of these United States seized upon the right; and after an eventful and glorious, belligerent contest established their claim to the sovereignty of an independent nation; but they have never yet assumed an appropriate name to designate them as such, when singly, and personally applied. In this respect our country exhibits a singular exception to that of all others, who are in possession of supreme, political power.

The appellation of *United States* is merely descriptive of our national confederacy, and cannot attach to the individual citizens, who are the subjects of this Federal Government. Therefore, if an inhabitant of New-York was asked by a foreigner, to what country he belonged, his reply would be, that he was an American, and not, that he was a free denizen of the United States; because, that he might be, and yet be a Swede or a Scotchman. Besides, the term *American* is of indefinite extent, and indiscriminately includes all the native inhabitants of this immense

immense continent, from Patagonia to Baffin's Bay ; and from the Carribean Archipelago in the Atlantic, to the shores of California, on the North Pacific ocean. The Mustee and Creole of Cuba, or Barbadoes ; the tawny savage of the Oronoque, as well as his fiercer brother of Lake Superior, are all *Americans*, as truly, as the wealthy native of Maryland, or the sober citizen of Philadelphia. At least, so are they considered on the continent of Europe. And hence it was, that in the years 1775 and 1776, the French, for want of a national, discriminate mark, called all the inhabitants belonging to the then thirteen revolted colonies, by the general name of *Bostonians*. They could not designate them as English, Scotch, or Irishmen, for we were at open, determined war with Great-Britain ; and with her government, had indignantly shaken off the name of Britons ; and they were aware of the impropriety, if not absurdity, of calling them Americans, because that was confounding a brave, intelligent, and free people, occupying a distinct territory, with every species of inhabitants which the new world had bred. Little acquainted as they then were with this country, and finding that the most firm, systematic, hostility to all the plans of the British cabinet, originated in, and were strenuously and steadily pursued by the inhabitants of Boston, who defied, and first met the vengeance of a mighty nation, directed by an irritated and most willing sovereign, perhaps the adoption and appropriation of that term, for a short period, was not amiss. But it ought to have taught us, that with our change of civil dominion, it had become necessary and proper to vary our national name, or rather to adopt a distinct and definite one.

To denominate ourselves *Americans* instead of *Englishmen*, was as incorrect as it would be for the individuals who now compose the French Republic, to relinquish the name of Frenchmen, and call themselves *Europeans*. The latter marks them as inhabitants of a principal section of the globe, but certainly involves in it nothing descriptive of the nation they compose.

To illustrate this position a little farther, permit me to detail a short conversation. I was once asked by a gentleman at Paris, what countryman I was. I answered,
that

that I was an American. "Born in Mexico, perhaps, Sir?" No; I am not a Mexican. "You are perhaps from Canada?" No; for then I should have declared myself a Canadian. "But suppose you had been born in the island of St. Croix, or Trinidad, what would you have called yourself then?" In the first case a Dane, in the other a Spaniard. "And why do you call yourself now an American?" Because my countrymen, who are the citizens of the United States, have chosen to be so designated. "Well, my good friend, I had the fortune to be born on the banks of the Gambia, where my father was then settled as a factor, with his family, and yet I should scarcely thank any person, who should think proper, on that account, to represent me as an *African*."

Should it be alleged, that when we adopted the term AMERICANS, it was intended as an emphatic, and exclusive appropriation, specially applicable to the citizens and people of the United States; the answer is, that such a gentilitious assumption is too general; and to render it sufficiently discriminate, it would be indispensably necessary for the rest of the world to agree in naming anew, the heterogeneous millions, who inhabit the two vast peninsulas of North and South America, together with all the numerous islands, which are appendant to them.

In our intercourse with foreign countries, it is not barely a cause of inconvenience and confusion; but in some parts of Europe, even a stigma is affixed, to our strangely merging our specific, national character in a name designatory of all the natives of the most extended quarter of the earth; or more properly, being destitute of any name. And does not sound policy dictate the prudence of a measure, which should unite all the provincial distinctions of Vermontese and Georgians, Carolinians, and New-Englandmen, Virginians and Pennsylvanians, in one general, aggregate, national title: to be adopted by the legislature of the United States, and formally declared as the name and peculiar description of all the free citizens of our national confederacy.

It has been a prevailing sentiment for ages, that great injustice was done to the intrepid talents of that immortal navigator, *Columbus*, in permitting an inferior adventurer

turer to deprive him of the honour of giving name, as he had birth, to half the globe. But the Florentine explorer of the southern continent, *Americus Vesputius*, with all his address, might not have succeeded, had not his christian name easily admitted a termination similar to that of two other quarters of the earth, and furnished a corresponding sound with that of the opposite continent of Africa.

With a view of rendering a partial retribution to the memory of the illustrious discoverer of the western world; in some degree to vindicate public gratitude, as well as to assign a name to the new nation, which our revolutionary war had created, reiterated, private attempts were made to denominate the extensive country which composes the dominions of the United States, COLUMBIA; but hitherto without success. And the term *Columbians* seems confined to orators, and poets, who retain it for the purpose of aiding a sonorous sentence, or rounding a musical period. So difficult is it to produce an alteration in any popular usage, which has obtained the sanction of time; unless the amendment is justified by public authority, and becomes the language of the laws.

The philosophic historian of the two Indies, puzzled for a more suitable distinction, denotes us *Anglo-Americans*. An amphibolous compound, in the assumption of which, the Abbe Raynal has been followed by most of the foreign geographers. And it is not uncommon to find the inhabitants of the United States styled by British writers, *the ci-devant colonists*; and sometimes the *people of the revolted colonies*. Nor ought we to complain at being subjected to such a mongrel description, so long as we continue unclassified among other nations, by the public neglect of granting to the people of the United States the right of assuming a specific name.

There is a pride of country inherent to the human character. A Swiss would resent being called a Neapolitan; and so would a Creek Indian, if mistaken for a Tuscarora. A national diversity marks the physical, as well as geographical and political boundaries of different regions, in a barbarous, equally with a cultivated state of society. Hence a natural, if not strong reason, given by
negroes

négroes for their dislike of mulattoes; because, say the blacks, *Mulatto be no golee no country.*

Aware how much easier it is to subvert than to supply, I would not wish to escape from the task of furnishing a name in some measure appropriate, if I dared to hazard the ridicule that must attach to so presumptuous an attempt by an obscure individual. Permit me then, sir, only to suggest, that the vast territory included within the limits of the United States, exhibits a scale of production on which nature has stamped her boldest features. Her lakes and mountains, forests and rivers, astonish, while they distinguish this from all other countries, and might justify a title of the proudest import. But the obstacles which present themselves against affixing an appellation, thus geographically descriptive, and at the same time applicable to the inhabitants, are various, if not insuperable; whereas the recollection that the national district of COLUMBIA will very soon contain the capital of the empire, irresistably forces upon the mind a term which supercedes the difficulty; has long been familiar to our ears, and would therefore, most probably, be cheerfully acquiesced in by a majority of the citizens of the United States; and its adoption be speedily, and effectually, communicated to all foreign countries through the medium of the custom-house, by an insertion in the register of every vessel, and other official fiscal certificates. Why *Columbian* is not equal, in sound and meaning, to that of *Hibernian*, or *Caledonian*, is left to the discovery of those who prefer the terms *Scotch* and *Irish* only because they contain fewer syllables, and are best understood in vulgar parlance.

The ancient and modern history, both of civilized, and barbarous nations, afford many examples of a whole people deriving a name from the metropolis of their respective countries; and a few, adopting that of their particular founders, of primary legislators; but in neither do we find any nation, the citizens of the United States excepted, who were not distinguished by a peculiar appellation, differing from that of their government.

Although there may not at present be any grounds for apprehension that our inhabitants, like those of one of the states of Greece, may be subjected to a nick-name; under

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which

which history has preserved their records, and which, even at this distant period, continues proverbial; yet it is not impossible, without some public provision against it, that they may be saddled with one, founded on accident, whim, caprice, resentment or ridicule, and which may obtain a foreign currency, from a concurrence of circumstances, in despite of every effort to control it.

The youth and fair fame of our nation, the comparative paucity of our population, the innovations, and reforms, which mark the present eventful æra, all conspire to facilitate the adoption of a name suited to our circumstances as an independent people; and which, there can be little doubt, that the rest of the world would acquiesce in, after the same shall have received a governmental sanction, and have been declared by the supreme authority of our country, as the name and designation, by which the free citizens of these United States, shall, forever thereafter, be known and called.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM TUDOR.

JAMES SULLIVAN, Esq. President of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.

LETTER FROM HIS LATE EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQ. TO BARON J. D. VANDER CAPELLAN,
"SEIGNEUR DU POL, MEMBRE DES NOBLES DE LA
PROVINCE D'OVERYSUL, &c."

Lebanon, 31st August, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour and pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your first and triplicate letter, dated 7th December, 1778; the former came to hand the 18th instant, the latter about three weeks ago, by Capt. Niles, from France. The duplicate came to Philadelphia; Mr. Erkelens took it, and unhappily irrecoverably lost it, in Connecticut river, to his and my grief, as it was the first that arrived. I do sincerely thank you for the communication; and your kind offer of correspondence is very freely embraced. The letters I sent, I feared were not received,

ceived, or were neglected. Col. Derks kindly offered to see the quadruplicate delivered. That gentleman's polite and agreeable behaviour and disposition inclined me to make another attempt, to be sure of its delivery. Before your receipt of that, sent by him, I am agreeably entertained with your's. In consequence, shall embrace every opportunity to carry on a correspondence, which, I trust, may be mutually acceptable, and prove beneficial to the public, especially to this springing in the wilds of America.

The first English emigrants, who came to settle here, were a set of pious people, persecuted in England, removed to Holland in the year 1608. They remained in Leyden, until one hundred and one removed to New-England in 1620. They began on a bay, and built a town called *Plymouth*. The next adventurers, likewise for the sake of religion and liberty, came over in the spring of 1630; with the venerable governor Winthrop at their head, they begun another settlement, on a small bay, about forty miles northward of Plymouth. They built Salem, Charlestown, Boston, and very soon a number of other towns, and planted christian churches in them, with a number of godly ministers. They were driven from their native land on account of their religious principles, endured great hardships, yet they beheld many admirable acts of God's providence towards them, both in their voyages to this new country, and in their settlements, surrounded by barbarous savages, and wild beasts. In all, God was their sun and shield; they prospered and flourished, and soon became able to raise necessary provisions; yet, not long after their arrival, they were persecuted by their enemies in England. The divine protector and preserver of men guarded and blessed them in their new beginnings.

In 1640, governor Winthrop, in his Journal, inserts the following passage, viz. "Upon the great liberty which the king left the parliament to in England, some of our friends there wrote to us, advising, to send over some to solicit for us in parliament, giving us hopes we might obtain much: but consulting about it, we (the governor and assistants, convened in council) declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of parliament, we must
" be

"be subject to all such laws as they should make, or as laws such as they might impose on us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Here observe, that as at this time, so it hath been ever since, that the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it in any case.

In August, 1635, a number of people removed and settled a town called Windsor, on Connecticut river. October following, another company settled a second town, about twelve miles below, on the same river, called Weathersfield. The next month, a fort was begun at Saybrook, at the entrance of that river. Thirty-first of March following, Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, in the Massachusetts Bay, with most of his congregation, removed and settled a town between Windsor and Weathersfield, which they named Hartford. It was uncertain, at that time, whether these towns were not within the limits and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts. It was soon found they were not. The inhabitants in them met, formed a constitution of government, and entered into solemn agreement thereon, dated January 14, 1636, copy of which is inclosed;

Under this original charter, formed by these people, an independent government was established, and administered until 1662. During this time, many more towns were settled; and christian churches organized. Thus a government is formed on Mr. Locke's plan, near the time of his birth, as many others had been even from early time.

Our predecessors, from apprehensions of danger, and with views of protection, applied to the king of England, the nation we are derived from, for a charter; whereby they and their successors should have protection, and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of his dominions: which was granted, we yielding and paying therefor, to him, his heirs, and successors, only the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver, in lieu of all other services, duties, and demands whatever: copy of which is inclosed. From whence it appears,

pears, that the material difference between that formed by themselves, and the new charter from the king of England, consisteth in a mutual and reciprocal compact and covenant, on his part, that we shall enjoy the rights, liberties, and immunities of others his subjects within the realm. On our part, to yield our allegiance, and the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver. Under this constitution, well formed for the good of the people, government hath been duly exercised, and truly and faithfully administered, until the present contest. The king hath cast us out of his protection, whereby our obligations to allegiance are dissolved, and we return to our former condition of a free and independent state. Our government and authority remain the same as at the first, without any essential variation or alteration. To shew our state and condition, I know not how to do it better, than by inclosing "Heads of inquiry sent by the secretary of state, 5th July, 1773, and the answers returned in October, 1774;" on which I have made some marginal notes.

My first letter was accompanied with copies of the petition of this government to the king, his answer, and my last letter, addressed to the secretary of state for America, the earl of Dartmouth, to which an answer has never been returned.

Many parts of the subsequent history of our military affairs will appear almost incredible even to our friends, and by our enemies will undoubtedly be reprobated as ridiculously false. Conscious, however, of the most sacred regard to truth, I shall dare to oppose a simple narrative of facts, to the cavils of an enemy, known to be equally fruitful in arts of deception, as in cruelty and insolence.

The first act of hostilities was committed at the village of Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, by a body of troops, whose orders were to destroy a quantity of military and other stores at Concord, a few miles further distant. The country having received intelligence of the march of these troops, the preceding evening, and ignorant of their destination and orders, had, in several places, put themselves under arms, with a resolution, not of opposition, but of self-defence. With this idea, the militia of Lexington, in number about sixty or seventy men, were

were formed on their usual parade, and performing their manual exercise, on the morning of the 19th April, 1775, when the advanced guards of the British came up. No questions were asked; but an order to the troops to fire, instantly followed a command to the inhabitants to disperse. Several were killed and wounded. The alarm spread through the neighbouring country; and every bosom, already irritated by previous insolence, upon this new and open attack, burned with all the enthusiastic rage, which injury, added to insult, has power to kindle in minds of native courage, educated in the haughtiness of republican liberty. The event of the day was the natural consequence of such a commencement. The stores at Concord were indeed destroyed; but the countrymen, heedless of danger, though ignorant of discipline, in revenge, attacked partially, routed and pursued the veteran soldiers of Britain, with the most persevering obstinacy, and great success, for fifteen miles. The heights of Charlestown afforded the astonished, dispirited fugitives an asylum for the night; though even when so advantageously posted, their courage was not so much their protection, as their cruelty, in threatening the destruction of the town, in revenge of a new attack.

Thus were we necessarily involved, in a moment, in all the present and future horrors of a civil war; a people rather possessed of that courage, which can dare, and that obstinacy which can persevere in danger, than of the experience which instructs, or that penetration and prudence which insure success in the prosecution of enterprises thus extensive and arduous: a people unexperienced in independent government or war, and unprovided with either officers, troops, or magazines for the support even of a campaign, against a nation, whose name we had been taught to reverence; to whose troops we had, from our cradles, ascribed the greatest character for bravery and discipline; and whose navy rode triumphant in every part of the globe. But this comparison, so little to our advantage, had no weight in minds from which the enthusiasm of liberty had banished all idea of fear. The New-England colonies instantly determined to support the war. Troops were raised by enlistment, and regularly officered,

officered, to succeed to the place of those, whom the first alarm had collected in a very irregular manner: and in the beginning of June, the army, thus formed, consisted of 20,000 men, strongly posted on the heights in the neighbourhood of Boston.

On the 16th June, 1775, it was resolved to form a post on that part of the high grounds of Charlestown nearest to the town of Boston; from which we should have the power of annoying the enemy, both in the town and harbour. The plan for the execution of this determination was not well formed; and the executive part, dependent on officers and troops unacquainted with discipline, was still more inattentively prosecuted. About six hundred men, with arms and entrenching tools, were marched down in the evening, and broke ground at 12 o'clock. The entrenchments, for want of engineers, were in a similar style with the preparatory steps, sufficiently injudicious. At day-break, of the 17th of June, we were discovered by the enemy, and a cannonade immediately commenced, which continued, with little interruption, though as little execution, till afternoon. Meantime the unfortunate six hundred, fatigued with labour and want of sleep, and quite inadequate in number to the defence of the post they had been employed to form, were not only not relieved by fresh men, but not even furnished with provisions and liquors for their refreshment, or the extraordinary ammunition which they must necessarily expend. In this situation they were attacked at 3 o'clock, P. M. by 1200 British troops, under the command of Gen. Howe. Yet even when thus unsupported by their brethren, exposed to the fire of several ships of war and batteries, and the attack of double their number of men, they maintained their post with determined firmness, and repeatedly forced the enemy to give way; till general Howe, being strongly reinforced, and finding themselves still abandoned to their fate, their ammunition exhausted, their commanding officer, the brave general Warren, and near half their number killed or wounded, the remaining few fled, and left the enemy masters of the field. To add to the horrors of this *new* scene, the town of Charlestown was set on fire, and reduced to ashes. Perhaps there have been

been few more obstinate battles ever fought; near one half the troops engaged, on each side, being either killed or wounded; that is, of the British 1100, and of the Americans more than 900.

The only consequence of this action was, to exasperate the contending parties, in the highest degree, and to inspire each with more exalted ideas of the other's strength, and the necessity of more laboured defence and fortifications.

The establishment of the army, in the pay and service of the United Colonies, and the arrival of generals Washington, Lee, and Gates, immediately after the battle of Bunker-Hill, were important events, and introduced a great improvement of the discipline of the troops. No offensive measures, however, were taken, during the remaining part of this campaign, except the sending a detachment of 1000 men, under the command of colonel Arnold, into Canada, by the way of Kennebeck river, a route hitherto unattempted, and almost unexplored. This expedition was intended to divert the attention of the enemy from general Montgomery, who was advancing by the way of lake Champlain, and to whose operations it is now necessary to advert.

The posts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, always heretofore considered the barriers of New-England, were taken by surprise, immediately after the commencement of the war, by a party of volunteers from these states and New-York; who, at the same time, had the good fortune to make themselves masters of the navigation of lake Champlain, by taking the enemy's small water force. Upon this success, the idea first originated in Congress, of conquering, or rather liberating from British domination, the province of Canada; an idea in which they were confirmed by the repeated general disaffection of the natives of the country, who were expected to join in the attempt.

A body of troops was immediately raised, and the command given to generals Schuyler and Montgomery, the former of whom being confined by sickness, the latter sailed from Crown-Point, the 31st August, with about 1200 men, to form the siege of fort St. John's, at the bot-

tom

tom of lake Champlain. After a siege of about two months, this post surrendered in the beginning of November, and was immediately followed by Montreal.

In the beginning of December, the troops commanded by general Montgomery joined those of colonel Arnold, on the plains of Abraham, before Quebec; both divisions amounting, when united, to only 800 or 1000 men.—Two causes united to produce this amazing deficiency: a mutiny and scarcity of provisions had obliged colonel Arnold to send back one half of his detachment, from Kennebeck: and the expiration of the positive term of enlistment, added to the excessive severity of the climate, and their distance from home, were reasons, in the minds of those commanded by general Montgomery, too powerful to be borne down by their patriotism, and which induced the greater part of them to desert him in the moment of victory. Yet, with this paltry number, the siege of the strongest city in America was formed. But the innumerable obstacles, arising from the inclemency of the season, the difficult transportations of provisions, the distant probability of any reinforcement, and the uneasiness of the remaining few of the army, compared with the weakness of the garrison, and disaffection of the citizens, soon induced the commanding officers to determine on attempting the city by assault. The necessary dispositions were accordingly made; and on the 29th December, at night, two attacks were made on two different quarters. The division, led by colonel Arnold, pushed on with an intrepidity which would have done honour to Spartans, and had forced their passage into the town, when they learnt the death of the brave, but unfortunate Montgomery. His division were on the point of mounting the walls, which were already abandoned by the enemy, when the accidental discharge of the last cannon killed the general and two other principal officers, and so damped the spirits of the soldiery, that they immediately retired with precipitation. In the instant when he received this dejecting intelligence, colonel Arnold was wounded in the leg by a musket ball, and disabled from acting. A retreat was immediately ordered, which only a part of his

his troops were able to effect, the greater number being killed or taken.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, the troops still maintained their posts, nigh the city, during the remainder of the winter, in hopes of the arrival of a reinforcement sufficient still to give success to the enterprise; but in vain. The winter passed without bringing any adequate assistance; and the arrival of several British ships, with a body of troops, obliged them to raise the siege, precipitately, on the 4th May, 1776; abandoning their hospital of near 200 sick and wounded, with the baggage, stores, &c. to the triumphant enemy.

While this passed in Canada, the army lay quiet in their quarters before Boston, till the first of January, on which day the enlistment of the troops expired. Few men had yet been recruited, on the new establishment for another campaign; and six months of real service had, in a great degree, damped the extravagant ardour, which had its origin more in novelty and passion, than in fixed principle. Nor could any reason of virtue, of patriotism, or policy, prevail on these late intemperate heroes to bear only a few days longer fatigue, and separation from their friends. The service was almost universally abandoned in a moment of critical danger; and the army, in one day, was reduced from 20,000 to less than 5,000, a number in no degree adequate to the defence even of our quarters. The militia were called in for a few days, till recruits could be collected from the country: and the most vigorous exertions were made to promote and expedite the forming a new army.

In February we were in condition to act offensively.—Preparations were accordingly made; and on the evening of the 5th March, the heights of Dorchester were occupied by a strong body of troops, and a warm cannonade kept up, from several quarters, on the town. After a few days, the enemy, finding any attack upon our posts impracticable, with any prospect of success, and their own situation neither advantageous or safe, evacuated the town on the 17th, and sailed for Halifax.

New-York being thought their next most probable object, the army of general Washington marched for that place, and arrived before the middle of April.

Before I proceed to the ulterior operations in this quarter, the defeat of general Clinton, in South-Carolina, demands our attention. He had been detached, during the preceding winter, from Boston, and appeared, successively, before Newport, New-York, and Charleston.— On the 28th June, an attack was made on Sullivan's-Island, which commands the entrance of the latter harbour, by the fleet commanded by commodore Sir Peter Parker; at the same time, the land troops, under Sir Henry Clinton, were to act in conjunction, by crossing a small arm of the sea, which covered the rear of the fort, and was supposed to be fordable. Fortunately this information was false, and the general was necessitated to stand an idle spectator of the unsuccessful attack and defeat of the fleet. The loss, on the British part, was two small ships burnt, and about three hundred men killed and wounded; the remaining ships having received great damage in their rigging and hulls. On our's, two men killed, and about ten wounded. The defeated fleet and army soon after joined general Howe at New-York.

Soon after general Washington's arrival at this last mentioned place, large detachments were ordered into Canada, to support our desponding friends in that quarter; but from the badness of the roads, and consequent difficulty of transportation, it was impracticable to arrive at Quebec in season. They were met at Trois Rivières by the flying troops; the spirit of dejection soon spread; the small-pox made wild havoc; the enemy pursued closely; and in a few days we were completely dispossessed of all our conquests.

The army, amounting to about 5000, of whom 3000 were sick, reached Crown-Point in the last of June; and were safe there only, as it was impossible for the enemy to cross the lake.

Ticonderoga was chosen as a more tenable post: the army removed thither in the beginning of July, and immediately applied themselves, with unremitting assiduity, to repairing the old fortifications, and constructing new, and soon saw themselves in a very respectable situation. Each party was, at the same time, busily employed to keep, or to regain the naval superiority: and on the 13th October, the

the two fleets, consisting each of twelve or fifteen small vessels and galleys, and carrying about one hundred pieces of cannon, fell in with each other. A warm engagement ensued, in which the British were completely victorious. The loss, on our part, was almost all our vessels, and about 250 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In a few days, the army, commanded by general Carleton, advanced to Crown-Point, with an intention to attack the troops at Ticonderoga, at that time amounting to about 13,000; but having reconnoitred the strength of our position, and our apparent numbers, it was thought prudent to retire into Canada. The American army retired into winter quarters about the middle of November, leaving a garrison of 1000 men.

While this passed in the northern and southern departments, our army at New-York (amounting, in included troops, but to about 8000 men) were busy in fortifying the city and its neighbourhood, and making every preparation for the reception of the enemy, of whose object we had obtained full intelligence.

On the 4th of July, the Congress, convinced that the fixed resolution of the British court was conquest; despairing of any accommodation on rational, or even tolerable terms; and willing to convince the world, as well as our enemies, that *Liberty or Death* was our determination; published their Manifesto and Declaration of Independence, abjuring all future connexion with Great-Britain, in the view of a parent state, forever; a step the more truly great, as our danger was then the more imminent.

In the middle of the month, the first division of the British fleet arrived in the harbour of New-York, and were soon followed by the second, as also by the troops from the West-Indies and Carolina. The whole army, amounting to 30,000 men, were landed and encamped for refreshment on Staten-island. During this time, advances were made for an accommodation, by Lord and Sir William Howe, the commanders of the British army and navy, under the style of "his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to his rebellious colonies in North-America." In consequence of which, Dr. Franklin, and two other gentlemen, were named, on the part of Congress,

gress, to confer with the commissioners, and know from them, the extent of the powers with which they were vested. A conference was accordingly held at Staten-Island; in which it appeared, that the authority of the commissioners extended to little more than the *granting pardons* for crimes, of which we did not acknowledge ourselves guilty, and *protections of persons and property*, which we ourselves were prepared to defend. The conference was consequently broken off, with no other effect, than convincing us, more fully, of the insolence of the enemy; and them, more fully, of our obstinate attachment to our liberty, on the original principles of the dispute.

On the 23d of August, the British army landed on Long-Island, and on the 27th, attacked the entrenched posts of our troops, opposite to the city of New-York, which were defended by about 4000. The day was unfortunate to us: and in the night following, we abandoned the Island, with the loss of about 1200 men, killed and prisoners. This misfortune was soon followed by the loss of the city, and afterwards the whole island of New-York, except fort Washington, at the north end, in which was left a garrison of 2000. Meantime, the army, retiring through the lower counties of New-York, as the enemy advanced, dared not to risque an action, till they had gained the strong mountainous grounds of North-Castle; from whence, after having viewed our position for some days, without daring to attack, the enemy retired towards New-York. Intelligence being now gained, that general Howe had changed his plan, and determined to attempt the city of Philadelphia, general Washington crossed the North river, with part of his army, and took post on the west bank. The enemy, meantime, had carried fort Washington by storm, on the 16th of November; and now crossing the river, unexpectedly, surprised fort Lee, in the front of the army, who were immediately obliged to retire. A few days gave the enemy the entire possession of the southern part of New-Jersey; general Washington still necessarily retiring before them, till the river Delaware at length checked their rapidity of success. Our troops, having taken a strong position behind the river, and secured the boats at the different ferries, now found time to

to recover from the fatigue of their retreat. The enemy immediately after went into winter quarters, leaving 1500 at Trenton, opposite general Washington, and distributing the remainder of 10,000, in the different towns and villages of New-Jersey.

On the 20th December, our army being reinforced by the division which had been left on the east side of the North river, and a part of those who served the northern campaign, a resolution was taken to attack the enemy at Trenton, on the 25th, at night. The blow was successfully struck, with the loss, on the British part, of 800 killed and wounded, with the artillery and baggage of the post. A few days after, having collected their different detachments, they advanced to Trenton, when general Washington, finding their superiority too great to hazard an action, decamped on the night of the 2d of January, 1777, and fled off towards Princeton, twelve miles in their rear, where three regiments, who were on their march for Trenton, were attacked, and cut to pieces.— This unexpected blow, and the danger of their baggage at Brunswick, obliged the enemy to retire with precipitation. Their out-posts were called in; and from the undisputed command of a state, their possessions were reduced to a few miles about that town, our army choosing a strong position north of them.

You will not be surprised at the continued series of misfortunes, which succeeded each other the whole of this campaign, when you view an inferior number of troops, raw and undisciplined, and consequently sickly, with all the additional embarrassments of an unarranged equipage, making their first field campaign, against a *superior* number of veterans, inured to all the fatigues, and educated in all the discipline of regular war; furnished with every convenience of equipage and stores, and commanded by officers of experience. It is rather matter of wonder, that such troops should make, in general, so good an opposition as they did, through the campaign; and after all their misfortunes, at length rise superior to a triumphant enemy.

But you will, with reason, ask, whence the deficiency of our numbers originated? Among the many causes for this

this grand source of misfortune, no one, perhaps, contributed more, than the hope, which generally prevailed, at the commencement of this campaign, that, as there was yet no declaration of war, the dispute might still be accommodated by a negotiation: that Great-Britain, convinced of our obstinate determination, might at length find *her interest* more essentially served by retracting the obnoxious claim of taxation, than by prosecuting the war, whose most favourable event, according to their pursuit, could only produce our ruin, and the consequent loss to them of every advantage from commerce or revenue. These hopes, with the universal horror, which, on a little unimpassioned reflection, the idea of a continued war inspired, our remaining affection for a country, whose connexion we had till now been happy in; and the inexperience of all ranks of officers, unavoidable in a country just entering, as it were, upon life, joined to deter us from that necessary energy in recruiting the new army, which a more experienced prudence would have dictated; and ultimately led us into all the variety of misfortunes of this campaign.

Our enemies have ever asserted, that our declaration of independence, in addition to many parts of our previous management, was a definitive proof of our original intentions; and that, from the first, we had determined on our subsequent conduct. But you may believe me, when I assure you, that our constant wish, till continued injury had driven us to this declaration, and our connexion with France, was for peace, and reunion with Great-Britain, in preference of all the nations of the earth. Awaked, at length, from these delusive dreams, and convinced of the madness of all our fond expectations from the wisdom or justice of our enemy, we determined on this declaration, on a connexion with foreign powers, and the raising an army of regular troops for the war. Every effort was therefore made, and we took the field, the next campaign, with a much finer force, than we had before seen.

The encampment of the grand army, under general Washington, was formed at Middle-Brook, a few miles from Brunswick, the head-quarters of the enemy. The two armies lay in view of each other for some time, till,
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in June, the British made a movement from their left towards Philadelphia; but finding themselves checked in the first moment, and reduced to the necessity of hazarding a general action on disadvantageous terms, or abandoning the enterprise, they chose the latter; and, a few days after, abandoned Brunswick, and every part of New-Jersey, having maintained their conquest only six months.

The whole army immediately embarked on board a fleet of more than three hundred sail, and put to sea, leaving us in the most anxious uncertainty of their destination. Philadelphia was at first conjectured, and soon determinately known to be their object. The army landed on the last of August, at the head of Elk river, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake bay, and about eighty miles from the city, below which general Washington had now chosen his position. The two armies advanced towards each other, and the Americans encamped on the north bank of Brandywine creek. On the 10th of September, the enemy advanced to the opposite bank, and on the next day effected the passage. Young in the stratagems of war, and deceived by false and contradictory intelligence, we found the enemy already upon our right flank, even before any danger was apprehended. An unfortunate action and precipitate retreat were the consequences, in which we lost more than 1200 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The baggage was saved, by having been early sent into our rear. A variety of manœuvres, on the one part intended to prevent, on the other to force, the passage of the Schuylkill, now the only barrier of the city, employed the remainder of this month; at the close of which, another fortunate stratagem put the enemy in possession of their long-wished for object. Their army encamped at the village of Germantown, six miles in front of the city. Accurate information being received of their position, general Washington, on the 4th of October, surprised, attacked, and pursued the whole army for near two miles. But the excessive fogginess of the morning, which prevented his seeing the confusion of the enemy, and an injudicious attack upon a party, who had thrown themselves into a strong stone house, joined to change the fortune of the day. The enemy rallied, and it was soon

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our turn to retire. Our retreat, however, was executed without any loss.

The British army were now in quiet possession of the metropolis of America ; but the navy were not yet so successful. The chevaux de frise, which had been sunk, in several lines, across the Delaware, at 6 or 8 miles below the city, with the fortifications, frigates, and galleys, by which they were covered, remained, a long time, difficult obstacles to their gaining the command of the river. Repeated unsuccessful attacks were made on different posts, both by land and water ; in one of which, made by the Hessian troops, count Donop, with about 500 men, were killed or taken ; and in another, the Augusta ship of war of 64 guns, and a frigate, were burnt. After a long contest, and not till every defence was ruined, and almost every cannon dismounted, the garrison abandoned their last post, and retired to the army, leaving the enemy undisturbed masters of the water communication, as well as the city. The American winter quarters were fixed at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles above the enemy.

This campaign had been still more important, and gloriously successful, on our part, in the northern department. At first, indeed, relying on false and flattering intelligence, we had paid too little attention to the preservation of the strong post of Ticonderoga. The garrison, in June, amounted to no more than 4000 men. While in this weak state, general Burgoyne, with an army of 10,000 British and Hessians, from Canada, appeared before the place in the beginning of July. After a few days shew of opposition, the garrison, commanded by general St. Clair, finding their numbers far inadequate to a defence, and despairing of a seasonable reinforcement, abandoned the place on the night of the 4th of July, leaving their provisions, stores, and artillery to the victor. A step, at that time, universally execrated ; but of which, subsequent information has evinced the necessity and prudence. The flying troops, after a tedious march of sixty or eighty miles, through a country covered with wood, and destitute of inhabitants or refreshments, and after several skirmishes with the advanced light troops of the enemy, reached fort

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Edward,

Edward, on the North river, fifty miles above Albany, on the 13th of July.

The dread, with which this unexpected blow filled the whole country, was as extravagant, as their rage against the commanding officer, who, in the language of the day, had sold, or given away, the most important fortresses on the continent. The universal disaffection was carried to such excess, as to prevent, till the appointment of generals Gates, Lincoln, and Arnold to the service of that department, any number of militia from joining the dispirited garrison at fort Edward, or even till their arrival near Albany. But in the moment these officers assumed their command, an air of confidence took place of the despondency, which before universally prevailed, and every one was flushed with the hope of approaching victory. This animation was highly increased by the very successful attack of a body of militia, under command of general Starks, at Bennington, upon a detachment commanded by colonel Baum, of the Hessians; in which the latter were totally defeated, with the loss of near 1000 men, killed and prisoners, and all their baggage, artillery, &c. &c. About the same time, another detachment, commanded by general St. Leger, who invested fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk river, about ninety miles west from Albany, after an unsuccessful siege of some days, was obliged to retire, with precipitation and loss, on the 22d of August. In the beginning of September, general Gates, having been strongly reinforced, by the militia from the New-England and New-York states, advanced to Stillwater, and soon after to half way between that and Saratoga, where he encamped within a few miles of the enemy. On the 19th of September, an attempt to gain our left flank, brought on a partial action, in which the enemy were unsuccessful. On the 7th October, a second battle was fought, in which more than half of each army were engaged. The British were severely repulsed, and pursued into their entrenchments, with the loss of general Frazer, their commanding officer, and near 500 men killed, wounded and prisoners. The 11th, general Burgoyne began to retire towards lake George, leaving his hospital, and part of his baggage, in our possession. He was closely pursued;

performed; and on the 13th, necessitated to encamp at Saratoga, the pass of the North river being occupied by a detachment of the victorious army. Here, finding himself surrounded on all sides, cut off from all support, and the possibility of effecting his retreat, on the 16th he surrendered himself and army prisoners of convention. To rescue general Burgoyne from the ruin which impended, general Clinton (who, during the expedition to Philadelphia, commanded in New-York) undertook an expedition against the forts in the high lands of the North river, from thence intending to penetrate to Albany. Accordingly, on the 5th of October, he attacked fort Montgomery, at the head of 5000 men, the garrison amounting to about 700; and after an obstinate engagement of two hours, carried the post, and with it the command of the river. From this he instantly advanced towards Albany; but his success was too late. General Burgoyne had already surrendered, and himself was obliged immediately to retire to New-York, after demolishing the forts which he had taken.

Had this movement been made a few days earlier, it might have been efficacious; or had general Burgoyne prosecuted his first success in a proper manner, we must almost inevitably have lost the command of the North-river, and the whole state of New-York, and consequently the communication between the eastern and southern states. But fortunately, after the success at Ticonderoga, instead of pushing (as he should have done) 1500 or 2000 light troops, with their blankets, a few days provisions, and arms only, to Albany, (which place they might have reached, and maintained, till the arrival of the whole army) the enemy amused themselves with triumphing in their victory, and publishing proclamations. They advanced at length, with ill-time caution, and embarrassed with heavy artillery and baggage, as if with a design to allow the army and country time to recover from their panic, and put themselves in a new posture of defence.—Rashness in this instance, as in many of the great movements of war, would have been wisdom: but the opportunity lost only for a moment, was lost forever.

In January, 1778, a treaty of amity and commerce was
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signed at Paris, between the kingdom of France, and the United States of America. This unexpected blow, with the loss of general Burgoyne and his army, occasioned a new set of commissioners to be appointed by the parliament of Great-Britain, in February following. In May they arrived in Philadelphia, having been preceded by copies of the bills, on which their authority and commission were founded. These were considered by Congress as equally nugatory and preposterous with the former, and intended rather to gain time, by lulling us into security, than to answer any pacific purposes : and the gentlemen, in consequence, were received without the least attention or notice.

Nothing passed, in this interval, between the two armies, till the campaign of 1778 at length opened by the evacuation of the city of Philadelphia, in June. The army of the enemy, commanded by general Clinton, retired across New-Jersey, towards Staten-Island. By this movement, general Washington was left considerably in the rear : but the militia of the country, still sore from the insults and barbarities of the preceding year, and animated with the wish of revenge, exerted themselves so vigorously in retarding the march of the enemy, that on the 27th of June, the American light troops came up with the rear of the British at Monmouth, and immediately begun the action : being too far advanced to receive seasonable support from the main body, they were at first obliged to retire ; but the fate of the day instantly changed on the appearance of general Washington ; and after several unfortunate skirmishes, the enemy took advantage of the night, to make a very expeditious retreat, by which they escaped to Staten-Island, without any additional loss.

Fortunate as this evacuation of Philadelphia was in its conduct, it was much more in point of time : for a few days after, the count D'Estaing, who sailed from Toulon on the express design of blocking up the British fleet in the river, arrived with thirteen sail of the line off the capes of Delaware ; the most unfavourable winds and weather having occasioned him so long a passage, as gave general Clinton opportunity for this lucky escape.

From the capes, the count immediately sailed for New-York,

York, with an intention to attack the city; but the water of the harbour being found insufficient for his largest ships, he sailed for Newport, on Rhode-Island, which had been long in the hands of the enemy, and against which an expedition, by land, was now undertaken, under the command of general Sullivan.

The beginning of August, the American troops, in number about 10,000, (of which the greater part were militia) landed on the island without opposition, the French fleet then lying within the harbour. At this moment, Lord Howe, with what ships he had been able to collect on the station, appeared in the offing, and was immediately pursued to sea by the count. A violent storm, which arose the next day, and continued for almost a week, prevented an engagement of the two fleets, and dismasted several of the French ships; in consequence of which, they were obliged to put into Boston to refit.—The army of general Sullivan were thus left to carry on the siege alone, which they did with vigour, till, finding the support of the fleet was no more to be expected, they retired, on the 28th of August, from their camp before Newport, to the north end of the island, where the enemy, next day, ventured to attack them, and were repulsed with considerable loss. The 30th was employed, by each party, in throwing up lines of defence, on the American part intended only as a deception. The stratagem succeeded perfectly; and on the evening we retired from the island, undiscovered, and without the loss of a man, though the encampment of the enemy was less than cannon shot distant, and their advanced guard within call of ours.

After this unsuccessful attempt, nothing material passed during the campaign, till the detachment of a considerable body of troops from New-York to the West-Indies and Georgia; to the former of which the French fleet sailed in October, and were soon followed by the British, now commanded by admiral Byron.

The division destined for Georgia arrived, and soon made themselves masters of the principal part of the country, without much opposition or loss. From Georgia they marched, in April, for Charleston, in South-Carolina,

Carolina, before which place they appeared in May. A division of our troops, who had retired before them, entered the town, and, with the inhabitants, prepared for a vigorous defence. General Lincoln coming up, at the same time, with the enemy's rear, obliged them to retire from before the city, and take post on an island in the harbour, occupying only a point of the main land, opposite to their principal encampment. This post was immediately after attacked by general Lincoln, but with bad success, the enemy having been reinforced from the island, which, from some misconduct, failed of being attacked at the same time, by the troops who were destined for that service. Our loss, however, was small, the army retiring in good order. The enemy, in a few days, fearing a second attack, retired by water to Georgia; having thus abandoned great part of their new conquest, almost as soon as obtained.

While this passed, the American grand army had taken their old winter quarters of 1777, at Bound-Brook, in New-Jersey, the British remaining quiet in New-York. The present campaign opened in June, with an expedition of the enemy up the North river, where new fortifications had been erected, more advantageously than those destroyed by general Clinton, and the passage of the river likewise secured by a strong boom. On the approach of the enemy, our advanced posts, after some little specimens of obstinacy, had retired into the mountains, where they gained time for the arrival of general Washington, with the army. An action was at first expected; but the enemy, finding the ground, we occupied, too strong to be attempted with what troops they had, and after having fortified Verplank's and Stoney-Points, two commanding eminences below the entrance of the highlands, retired to New-York, leaving strong garrisons in the new posts; the latter of which they called *the American Gibraltar*.

From New-York an expedition was immediately formed against the coasts of this state, and executed with perfect barbarity. The town of New-Haven (the second in the state) was plundered of every valuable; and Norwalk and Fairfield reduced to ashes; the inhabitants suffering every insolence, cruelty, and brutality, that even savages could practise.

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But, while they were thus *worthily* amusing themselves, general Washington formed an expedition against their fort at Stoney-Point, which was executed in the night of the 15th of July last, by the light infantry of the army, under the command of brigadier-general Wayne. The works were carried at the point of the bayonet : about sixty of the enemy were killed, and near six hundred taken, with the loss on our part of fifteen killed, and sixty-four wounded.

This unexpected blow recalled the attention of general Clinton from his plundering expeditions, and gave him the most cruel chagrin. He was soon, however, permitted to reoccupy the ground, after we had taken off the stores, and demolished the works. A few days after, major Lee, with a detachment of 300 men, surprised a post at Powles-hook, opposite the city of New-York, and only cannon shot distant ; made the garrison, 150 men, prisoners, and retired without loss.

These offensive successes have had great effect in animating the army, and teaching them to confide in the admirable discipline, to which they have been formed, by the baron Steuben (a Prussian officer of great merit) ; a discipline, not inferior, in any point, to that of the best British troops.

About this time, an expedition had been formed, by the state of Massachusetts, against a party of the enemy from Halifax, commanded by general M'Lean, who had established themselves at Penobscot, an harbour in the north-eastern part of that state, about 300 miles from Boston. One frigate of thirty-two, and twelve private ships of war, from eighteen to twenty-four guns, formed the naval force ; the army consisting of only 1000 militia. The first landing of the troops was effected with little loss. The enemy immediately abandoning all their out posts, retired to their fort, which was strongly situated, and garrisoned by as many disciplined troops as the besiegers could count of raw men. An injudicious delay, in expectation of reinforcement, gave time to sir George Collier to arrive from New-York, with several ships, and a fresh body of troops ; in consequence of which, we were obliged to
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make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of all our armed ships, transports, provisions, stores, &c. and some men.

This misfortune, which was severely felt by the merchants of Boston, was in some degree alleviated, by the arrival, a few days since, of three continental frigates, bringing with them ten sail of a Jamaica fleet, just taken, and having on board 5000 hogheads of rum and sugar, besides many other valuable articles of West-India goods.

Each moment brings us important intelligence. The defeat of the English fleet in the West-Indies, by count D'Estaing; the declaration of his most Catholic majesty to the court of Great-Britain, which we have just now heard, are very pleasing and interesting events. But the joy we feel is in some degree damped, by the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot at New-York, on the 25th instant, with a fleet of 200 sail, said to have on board 7000 fresh troops; presenting again to our view the devastations and horrors of war, from which, we had begun to hope, we were ere long to be delivered. It is likewise reported in New-York, (I know not with what truth), that 5000 troops are gone to Georgia, and 2000 to Halifax. We may, therefore, expect another interesting campaign; the important events of which, I shall make it my study to communicate to you, as soon, and with as much candor as possible.

The foregoing account gives you a general idea of the operations of the war; in which, notwithstanding their many conquests, whether boasted or real, you find the British actually, at this day, masters of little more than they first possessed. New-York, Staten-Island, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, Savannah in Georgia, and Penobscot in Massachusetts, are the extent of their present dominions, all of which, you will naturally remark, owe their preservation much more to the navy, whose superiority we have no power to dispute, than to the army, whom we are now ready to meet in the field.

I can well conceive the address and perseverance of our enemies, in disseminating false and disgraceful reports of our resources and movements: but a very little knowledge of mankind will be sufficient to teach, even the most simple, what confidence is to be reposed in the assertions
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of those, whose *affairs* are seen to deviate so widely from every rule of right. They assert, that "of 32,000 electors of Congress, only 600 have taken the oaths of abjuration." But I affirm to the world, that only in the little state, over which I have the honour to preside, there are 10,000 electors, every one of which has abjured his allegiance to the king of Great-Britain, and sworn to support, with his life and fortune, the liberties and independence of his country; these oaths being one established and irrevocable condition, on which the right of election is founded. They assert, "that the people are disgusted with the measures of the new Congress:" on the contrary, the *recommendations*, only, of this worthy body of men, have every effect of laws, in guiding the actions of their constituents: and it may truly be said, that they have taken no one *material* step, which has not been received with the most hearty approbation. It would be strange indeed, and unprecedented in the annals of mankind, if, in the establishment of a new empire, under the numberless embarrassments through which we have struggled, no errors had been committed, which an after prudence might find to correct.

"The number of royalists is said to have increased with rapidity." Governor Johnson should have learnt to discriminate between people, who *voluntarily* declare in favour of a party, and those whom *misfortune* reduces to the necessity of partial and temporary submission, to avoid the horrid alternative of fire, captivity, and slaughter. Experience or history might have taught him, that a submission, thus forced, is but the prelude to revenge: if he demands example, let him look at New-Jersey, or the more modern instance of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut.

"Discord already reigns between the French and Americans, and even among the Americans themselves." Let the French gentlemen, who have been in America, relate the reception they have met with in this country; or inquire of my countrymen, what treatment they receive in France. The answer will decide on individual affection; and the unequivocal conduct of the courts of France and Spain leave as little doubt of the subsistence of national harmony. For ourselves, at the commencement of the

war, the southern and northern states were almost as unacquainted as two different nations; but now, not only political, but individual union subsists on the firmest, most amicable foundations.

"That many of the states are on the point of following the example of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut, in returning to their allegiance," is an assertion too impudently false, almost, to merit an answer. However, let the present state of Georgia and Carolina, let the late opposition of two or three hundred raw, surprised militia, and the children of a college at New-Haven, to as many thousand veteran troops in the field, and the precipitate retreat of those veterans in less than eighteen hours, be considered, and I will grant, that America, in general, is upon the point of returning to her allegiance in the very same manner.

The history, which you already have, of the operations and misfortunes of the war, with their causes, furnishes a ready answer to the inquiry of your countrymen, and gives the true reason why "we did not improve the opportunity of general Burgoyne's defeat, and the support of count D'Estaing, to dispossess our enemy, entirely, of the small part of the continent, which still groans under their dominion." It was want of power. New-York, Newport, and Penobscot, with the islands, are to us real *Gibraltars*, impossible to be reduced so long as the enemy command the seas: and this command we can have no power to dispute for many years to come, except by the support of our allies.

I acknowledge, my dear Sir, that no *one action* of the present war merits any comparison to the fury, and the rage of valour, which was displayed at the sieges of Haerlem, Leyden, &c. and which rendered your ancestors so justly, so illustriously celebrated. But when we compare the circumstances of the two countries, perhaps we may be induced to believe, that the collective conduct of the present, has been, by no means, less arduous, than that of the former war.

At the time of your revolt, Holland might already be called old in population, in government, in war, and in arts. Your country, though not of wide extent, was
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crowded with cities and inhabitants: you had many men of extensive knowledge and experience: your people were inured to the fatigues and discipline of war, by land and sea: cultivation and manufactures were, by you, carried to an height of perfection, unknown to almost any other part of the world: trade and commerce you had almost engrossed to yourselves: your cities and harbours were already covered with extensive and very strong fortifications: and to these must be added, your *real dominion* over the seas, whether in the ocean, where your fleets were nearly equal, if not almost superior to that of your enemy; or by your inundations, which formed a new, and absolutely unconquerable style of defence. On the other hand, we see America almost in a state of infancy. We are three millions of inhabitants, indeed, but thinly scattered over an immense country, whose extent on the sea is not less than fifteen hundred miles, and to the back country more than three hundred; destitute of a single fortified town, or the engineers, the men, or the revenue, necessary for works of the kind; without a civil officer informed in independent government, or a military of higher rank than a colonel of irregulars; without almost a man, who had ever served on board a ship of war, or in a disciplined army. Cultivation is, from the youth of the country, but very imperfect; and manufactures, especially of arms, ammunition, and the requisites of war, from the policy of our connexions, were almost unknown in the smallest degree. These are disadvantages, which already form a striking contrast to the resources of Holland, and might well have been sufficient to deter even the most heroic people from an attempt, which, thus embarrassed, reason would almost stamp with the character of madness and despair. But let us go further, and compare our naval situation with yours, (to say nothing of the advantage derived from your inundations :) Our commerce had ever been so cautiously restricted to our mother country, that we were almost unknown, by name, to the other nations of the earth. Thus destitute of commercial connexions, or political acquaintance, we had, at first, little to expect from the friendship or alliance of strangers; while the same mediocrity of commerce, in itself, deprived us of
seamen,

seamen, the soul of a marine. In fine, there was not, at the commencement of the war, a single armed ship on the continent, to defend, even the smallest point of our vast extended coast, against a navy, which, but a few years before, had triumphed over the united powers of the world. The innumerable misfortunes, which were the inseparable consequence of this inferiority, are obvious; it was impossible to combat, to advantage, an enemy, who could thus, in a moment, evade our attack, and transport himself to a thousand different defenceless quarters of the country. Devastation and plunder were continually in his power, while supplies, of ammunition and military stores, were almost more precarious from abroad, than the manufacture of them was unknown at home. Thus friendless, and thus destitute of resources, the maxims of Fabius were necessarily adopted, and we have hitherto "conquered by delaying."

You will find in the inclosed answers, to the inquiries of the British court, an accurate description of the form of government, population, soil, climate, produce, and trade of the state of Connecticut. The government of the other states are founded on democratic principles likewise, and nearly similar to ours; most of them are already established, though some (from peculiar difficulties of situation) are still scarcely arranged.

The climate, the soil, and the productions of a continent, extending from the thirtieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and in longitude an unknown width, are various beyond description, and the objects of trade consequently unbounded. There is scarce a manufacture, whether in the useful or ornamental part of life, of which you will not here find the materials, collected, as it were, in an immense magazine. In every requisite for naval armaments we abound, our forests yielding prodigious quantities of timber and spars; our mountains vast mines of iron, copper, and lead; and our fields producing ample crops of flax and hemp. Provisions of all kinds are raised in much greater quantities, than are necessary for our own consumption; and our wheat, our rye, our cattle, and our pork, yield to none in the world for quality.

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The price of cultivated lands is by no means extravagant; and of uncultivated, trifling : twelve thousand acres, situated most advantageously for future business, selling for three hundred guineas English, i. e. little more than six pence sterling the acre. Our interests and our laws teach us to receive strangers, from every quarter of the globe, with open arms. The poor, the unfortunate, the oppressed, from every country, will here find a ready asylum : and by uniting their interests with ours, enjoy, in common with us, all the blessings of liberty and plenty. Neither difference of nation, of language, of manners, or of religion, will lessen the cordiality of their reception, among a people whose religion teaches them to regard all mankind as their brethren.

The only obstacle, which I foresee, to the settlement of foreigners in the country, will be the taxes, which must inevitably, for a time, run high, for the payment of the debts contracted during the present war. These, indeed, will be much lightened, by the care which has been taken to confine these debts, as much as possible, among ourselves, and by emitting a paper currency in place of borrowing from abroad. But this method, though it secures the country from being drained, hereafter, of immense sums of solid coin, which can never return, has exposed us to a new and very disagreeable embarrassment, by its monstrous depreciation : an evil which had its rise in, and owes all its rapid increase to, the single cause of our not having provided, at a sufficient early period, for its reduction and payment by taxes. This measure was indeed rendered impracticable, at the proper time, by the radical derangement of the system of government, and consequently of revenue, in many of the United States : and its necessary delay, till the removal of these impediments, gave time for avarice and suspicion to unite in sapping the foundation of our internal credit. Many methods have been attempted for the prevention of a further depreciation ; and among others, the regulation of prices and markets has been repeatedly essayed ; but all efforts of the kind must forever prove fruitless, while they do not strike at a radical cure ; and the evil, after each momentary restraint, springs up, like the hydra's head, redoubled and renewed in

in vigour : each new attempt constantly evincing to us, what we ought at first to have received as a fixed principle, " That the value of money, whether real or artificial, will forever be determined by the proportion of its own quantity, to the quantity of all the objects of trade in the country where it is current." Taxes, therefore, are now adopted, and the evil seems at a stand. The continuation of this system, and stopping the emission of additional sums, we now begin universally to acknowledge, as the only effectual remedy ; and the increasing union of sentiment, which pervades all classes of men, will soon produce the desired effect. The danger of extravagant taxes, indeed, is much more imaginary than real. We have to defray the expenses of an army of twenty thousand men for four years. These expenses are almost entirely within ourselves ; and one hundred bushels of wheat will at this day discharge the pay of a man as readily as at the commencement of the war. What matters it then, (so long as our country continues to produce an equal quantity of essential wealth), whether that wheat is nominally called one hundred pounds, or an hundred shillings ? The real value (that is, in any foreign market, or in solid coin) is still the same, however we may vary the denomination of our internal currency.

You find I am not an advocate for internal or foreign loans ; in my opinion, they are like cold water in a fever, which allays the disease for a moment, but soon causes it to rage with a redoubled violence ; temporary alleviations, but, ultimately, real additions to the burden. The debts which we have already contracted, or may hereafter be necessitated to contract abroad, I have not a doubt but will be paid with the utmost punctuality and honour ; and there can be no surer foundation of credit, than we possess in the rapidly increasing value and importance of our country.

Indeed it is not so much my wish, that the United States should gain credit, among foreign nations, for the loan of money, as that all nations, and especially your countrymen in Holland, should be made acquainted with the real state of the American war. The importance and greatness of this rising empire, the future extensive
value

value of our commerce, and the advantage of colonization, are objects which need only to be known, to command your attention, protection and support.

Your "Tertia," with its inclosures, will (together with this) be immediately forwarded to Congress, where, I doubt not, the services you have already rendered this country, and the affectionate attachment you are pleased to testify to our interests, will meet that acknowledgment of gratitude, which pity and relief demand in return from the unfortunate.

Give me leave, most sincerely, to express my grief, that the efforts you have made for the removal of oppression in your own country, and for extending the blessings of liberty and plenty to the poor, should have met with so ungrateful a return of persecution and insult. Unhappy state of man! where opulence and power conspire to load the poor, the defenceless, and the innocent, with accumulated misery! where an unworthy few join to embitter the life of half their fellow-men, that they may wallow in the excess of luxurious debauch, or shine in the splendid trappings of folly!!

Go on however, my dear Sir; continue to assert the liberties of mankind, and support the cause of this injured and unfortunate country. And may heaven, in return for your generous, benevolent, and virtuous exertions, crown your life with the enjoyment of every public and domestic blessing. And if future events should render it convenient, or agreeable to you, to visit this new world, and share with us the enjoyment of universal freedom, may you be happy.

For myself, sixty-nine years, which I have already lived, allow me but a few days, at best, of which I can even hope the enjoyment. But I have children, in whom I am happy to anticipate an elongation of life; and in whom, you may be assured, you will meet with faithful friends, though you should not chance to see,

My dear Sir,

your most obliged, most obedient,
and grateful humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

March, 1780.

Soon after closing my second, we received the pleasing intelligence, that the fleet of France, under the count D'Estaing, after having defeated admiral Byron in the West-Indies, was again arrived upon our coasts; and preparations were immediately made, for co-operating with him against the city of New-York. The enemy likewise, in their alarm, withdrew the garrison of Rhode-Island, called in their out-posts and ships, prepared hulks for obstructing the entrance of the harbour, and made every exertion to put the city of New-York into the best possible state of defence, as their dernier resort.

In September, the count anchored at Georgia, landed his troops, was joined by general Lincoln, with such troops as he had been able to collect, and formed the siege of Savannah; to which town, the capital of the state, the British had collected all their force, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Artillery was landed from the fleet, batteries opened, and an incessant cannonade kept up for several days. The town, indeed, was ruined, but still no proposals of surrendering the place were attended to by the enemy. The count, therefore, having already remained on this service some days longer than the time limited by his orders, and being now reduced to an absolute necessity of returning to his station in the West-Indies, it was determined to attempt the town by storm; and the resolution was carried into execution on the morning of the 9th of October. Both the French and American troops, however, were repulsed with some loss, and of consequence the siege was immediately raised; the count re-embarking his troops, artillery, baggage, &c. a few miles below the town, and general Lincoln retiring into Carolina, equally without molestation. An accurate account of this affair I have never seen; but it is by no means improbable, that the American troops, who were wholly raw, may have been equally deficient in the conduct of the day, as they were in discipline, since we know how difficult it is to lead unexperienced men to face the dangers of an assault. This is certain, that the veterans, under the count's immediate command, did honour to themselves and to their country. The count himself was slightly

slightly wounded; and brigadier-general Pulaski, a native of Poland, in the American service, was killed.

This expedition, however, although unsuccessful in its main object, was not unattended with important good effects; all the British ships of force, in the harbour of Savannah, with a number of transports, and a considerable sum of money for the military chest, being taken by the count on his first arrival; besides, that the offensive operations of general Clinton, in the quarter of New-York, were entirely checked, and the island of Rhode-Island abandoned to us, after a possession of almost three years.*

THE

* The baron Van der Capellan, in his letter dated Zwol, the 7th of December, 1778, to governor Trumbull, to which the above is an answer, thus expresses himself on the subject of their correspondence.—“Another cause of distrust, in relation to the *credit* of America, is the false intelligence which the English incessantly circulate, and the effect of which the friends of the Americans cannot destroy from the want of information. It would be of the last importance to enable them, by authentic relations, which should contain nothing but what was *precisely* true, and in which even the disadvantages, inseparable from the chance of war, should not be concealed; in order, I say, to enable them, from time to time, to give an idea of the *actual* state of things, and of what is really passing on the other side of the ocean. If you choose, sir, to honour me with such a correspondence, be assured, that I shall make a proper use of it. Communications, apparently in confidence, have much stronger influence than those which appear in public. Your letter, which I have communicated, among others, in Amsterdam (with discretion, however, and hitherto without giving any copies) has made a strong impression upon all who have read it. All regret that so handsome, so energetic a defence of the American cause, should be shut up in the port-folio of an individual. A description of the present state and advantages of United America; of the forms of government in its different republics; of the facility with which strangers can there establish themselves, and find subsistence; of the price of lands, both cultivated and unimproved; of cattle, provisions, &c. with a succinct history of the present war, and the cruelties committed by the English, would excite astonishment in a country where America is known but through the medium of the gazettes.”

THE PETITION OF THE EARL OF STIRLING, WILLIAM PHILLIPS LEE, AND MARY TRUMBULL, PRAYING TO BE PUT IN POSSESSION OF SOME LANDS, CALLED THE COUNTY OF CANADA, GRANTED TO WILLIAM EARL OF STIRLING, IN 1635, BY THE COUNCIL FOR THE AFFAIRS OF NEW-ENGLAND. 1760.

To the king's most excellent majesty in council.

THE humble petition of William earl of Stirling, who is nearest heir male to William the first earl of Stirling, and also to Henry the last earl of Stirling, who died in the year 1739; and of William Phillips Lee, of the city of York, Esquire, and Mary Trumbull, of Easthampstead park, in the county of Berks, spinster; which said William Phillips Lee and Mary Trumbull are heirs at law of the said Henry the last earl of Stirling;

Sheweth,

That his late majesty king James the first, by letters patent, bearing date the 3d day of November, which was in the year of our Lord 1621, did grant to the council for the affairs of New-England, their successors and assigns, all the land in New-England, in America, lying and being in breadth from forty to forty-eight degrees of northern latitude, in length of and within all the breadth, throughout the main land, from sea to sea.

That the said council did, in the year 1635 (*inter alia*) grant to William Alexander earl of Stirling, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the main land of New-England aforesaid, beginning from a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New-Scotland in America aforesaid, and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place called Pemoquie, and so up the river thereof to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence, at the nearest, into the river Kineboqui, and so upwards along, by the shortest course, which tendeth unto the river of Canada, from thenceforth to be called and known by the name of the County of Canada.

That the said tract of land was soon afterwards taken possession of by the said earl of Stirling, and remained
many

many years in the possession of him and his heirs, who were at a very great expence in planting and settling the same.

That the said William earl of Stirling died in the year 1640, and was succeeded by his grandson William, who died a few months after him; and the said last named earl was succeeded by his uncle Henry.

That in the year 1663-4, James duke of York obtained a grant from his brother, king Charles II. of all that part of the main land, in North-America, lying between the rivers called Hudson's and Connecticut rivers, by the name of the province of New-York, including in his letters patent for the same, the island of Stirling, or Long-Island; for the purchasing which island, the said duke had bargained with Henry earl of Stirling; and also including therein, the said county of Canada, above described.

That the said Henry earl of Stirling never did bargain to sell to the said duke of York, his right or title to the said county of Canada, or any part thereof, nor ever divested himself of his right to the same; and the only reason, which can be assigned for the said county of Canada being included in the said grant to the duke of York, is, that in the same instrument, by which the said council for the affairs of New-England conveyed the county of Canada to the said earl of Stirling, they also convey the said island of Stirling, or Long-Island. And the duke of York, having a design to establish the province of New-York, and hearing much of the goodness of the soil of the said island of Stirling, or Long-Island, and of their contiguity thereto, applied to said Henry earl of Stirling for the purchasing his right to the said islands; and the said earl having agreed to sell the said islands to the duke of York, did deliver to his royal highness, or his agents, his title deeds, in order that the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, might be inserted in the duke's letters patent for the province of New-York: but by mistake, or otherwise, there was inserted in the said letters patent, not only the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, but all other the lands contained in the grant from the said council of New-England to the first-named earl

earl of Stirling ; by which means the said county of Canada was likewise included in the said letters patent.

That, in the said agreement between the said earl and duke, Long-Island only being bargained for, and there being no mention made of the county of Canada, the said Henry earl of Stirling, and his heirs, preferred several petitions to the said duke of York, and afterwards to him when king James the second, and to his successors, complaining of injustice done them by the said insertion of the said county of Canada in the said letters patent to the said duke of York.

That their late majesties king William and queen Mary, in their charter to the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, did give the jurisdiction of the country, comprehended within the said county of Canada, to the legislature of the said province of Massachusetts-Bay, (though it lies at a considerable distance from that province), but with an exprefs prohibition to the granting any part of the soil thereof without the royal approbation.

That the petitioners humbly conceive, that the said grant to the said duke of York in 1663-4, nor the said charter to the Massachusetts-Bay in 1691, can any way invalidate their prior right, held by the said letters patent in 1621 ; and as no settlements have been made in the said county of Canada, by virtue of, or under the said grant to the duke of York, or under the said charter to Massachusetts-Bay, with the royal approbation, the petitioners apprehend no inconvenience can arise by the petitioners being put in immediate possession of the said county of Canada, to which they are so justly entitled.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to give the proper directions for putting your petitioners in the possession of the said tract of land, with all the rights and privileges granted to the said first mentioned earl of Stirling ; and that your majesty would likewise be most graciously pleased to give orders to the governor of Massachusetts-Bay, to withdraw, and cease to exercise any jurisdiction therein, in order that so valuable a part of his majesty's dominions in America may be quietly and peaceably settled and improved

proved by the petitioners. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

STIRLING.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS LEE.

MARY TRUMBULL.

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO A REIMBURSEMENT FROM PARLIAMENT FOR THE EXPENSE OF SUPPORTING THE FRENCH NEUTRALS FROM NOVA-SCOTIA.

London, 10th December, 1763.

SIR,

MR. secretary's letter of the 24th of August, about the Nova-Scotians, is now before me. The province of Nova-Scotia's being unable to take care of its own subjects, and having been obliged to you for the securing and maintaining of them, is a circumstance, which may very justly be improved into an argument against the taking away any part of your country, to give to another province, which cannot maintain itself; and as such I have mentioned the affair to some of the board of trade and of the treasury. But that, I believe, is all the use that can be made of it; for, from the manner in which the proposal of a compensation has been received, in every place, where I have applied, it is impossible for me to hope to obtain any allowance on that account.

Soon after the receipt of the letter, I went to Mr. Pownall; and after reading part of it to him, stated the reasonableness of your demand for a compensation for that extraordinary expense. His answer was, that this was a business belonging to the treasury, and could not come under consideration of their board. I said, that I apprehended that it was a business before them, because the governor had wrote about it to the board. He replied, that there might be some cursory mention made of it in one of the governor's letters, but they could not possibly take any cognizance of the affair: and when I spoke of presenting

presenting to the board a memorial, in consequence of his excellency's letter, he said, that that would be to no manner of purpose. I then applied myself to one of the lords of trade, who, having long sat at the board, and being an intimate acquaintance, I knew would give me his sentiments without reserve. Upon mentioning the affair, his first answer was, How can they ask for a compensation, when they refused to admit them? I said, that this was not for the last embarkation, but for those whom the province did receive in the year 1755. Oh, said he, that is the old affair, which has been already considered, and was long ago rejected: it will be to no manner of purpose to bring that on again. If even in those years, when we raised so many millions, and gave away our money to all that asked it, this demand was even then refused, you cannot hope that it should be listened to in these times, when parliament find it so difficult to raise even the smallest tax. And whence should they think of receiving the money? The treasury has nothing to give, but what is voted by the house of commons; and the £.200,000 has always been considered there, as the compensation for all the several services.

I then went to Mr. Grenville. Upon mentioning that part of the argument, which says, that his most christian majesty, looking upon the Nova-Scotians as some of his most faithful subjects, would order transports for conveying them to France, he immediately said, that cannot be; that is contrary to our acts of navigation. How can the French court send ships to our colonies? When I mentioned the duke de Nivernois's declaration, he greatly doubted the truth of it; but said, that that was a matter which did not lie within his department. I acknowledged that I was sensible that that belonged to the secretary's office; and that therefore I did not wait on him so much upon that account, as upon another, which properly fell within his province, and that was, the granting a compensation for the expense incurred in the maintenance of these people. He instantly replied, that that would be impossible; turned the discourse to another subject, and would not suffer any farther mention to be made of it.

I then went to Lord Halifax's office; and after attending

ing a great part of two different days, at last received from him nothing more than this short answer : That he had heard of the affair before ; that he had thoroughly inquired into it, and that there was not a word of truth in it.

Thus the matter rests, with respect to the reception of it at the several offices to which I have applied. If his excellency and the council will be pleased impartially to weigh the merits of the subject, I believe they will not wonder at this coldness and inattention which was paid to it. You will remember, that these neutral French were sent into other provinces of North-America, as well as that of Massachusetts-Bay ; yet they have none of them directed their agents to apply for a particular compensation for this service, but are content themselves to bear the burthen of it.

In the next place, you will recollect, that the allowance for the year 1761, which is now paid, is much greater, in proportion to the sum expended, than any which you have before received. In former years, the compensation has been less than one half of your expenses ; in this, you received at least four-fifths. The pay roll for 1761 amounts to but £.72828-19-0 equal to £.54659-4-3 sterling, and the compensation is £.42774-16-0, besides the £.5190-12-0 and the sums recoverable from Pennsylvania and Connecticut : add this £.9000 to the £.54000 and you will still receive in the £.42700 alone, full two thirds of your expence. Hitherto I have always held out, that the parliamentary allowance did not come up to one half of your charge ; and in former years it really has been less. It would not now be for your interests for me to mention how much the allowance for the two last years of the war exceeds that proportion.

Supposing, therefore, that the house of Commons were disposed to grant a compensation, the utmost which we could ask, would be only the half of your charges. The general court, therefore, will be pleased to think for themselves, whether it be suitable to the dignity of a great province to come to parliament with a petition for four or five thousand pounds. Hitherto the province has stood upon the superior merit of its services, which has placed

placed it upon higher ground than any of the other provinces. I confess, that I wish it to stand there. And for that reason, in all my several applications, I have carefully avoided the mentioning the particular sum of this demand; choosing that the province should preserve entire the honour of having spent this war, in the public service, four hundred thousand pounds more than it has received, rather than bring it down below all the rest, by being the first to petition for four or five thousand pounds, in compensation for a service, which other provinces are content themselves to bear the expense of. After this, I believe, it is unnecessary for me to add, that if we were to petition parliament, there would not be the least hope of success. I have, in my former letter, observed, that a petition for money cannot be received in the house without the king's consent signified by one of the lords of the treasury, which in this case could not be had. But if it could, yet, from what has already appeared since the opening of the sessions, the gentlemen of the house of Commons seem fully sensible, that, of all his majesty's subjects, none are so much benefited by the peace as those of the northern colonies. And, though all acknowledge the loyalty and zeal with which they assisted in the conquest of Canada, yet, with all the expenses they have been at, that they have not bought their peace and security too dear.

Upon the whole, I must submit to the judgment of the general court, whether I have not best consulted for their honour, in not prosecuting this matter any farther.— They, I know, do not desire to hear flattering things, but true ones: and it is my duty to state to them the real nature of every service; and to offer my reasons for desisting from things, which appear not to be feasible, as well as it is to pursue such as are so.

I am, with the highest regard for the
Great and General Court,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
JASPER MAUDUIT.

P. S. The distribution of the £.10,000 is still delayed, but we are promised the warrant next week.

LETTER

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE
OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO THE DUTY
LAID BY PARLIAMENT ON FOREIGN MOLASSES.

London, 30th December, 1763.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 23d of March last, I acquainted the general court, that a motion had been made, by the first lord of trade, for the lowering of the duty upon foreign molasses, from 6d. to 2d. per gallon, in order the more effectually to secure the payment of it. And in a subsequent letter, of the 8th of April, I mentioned, that this bill was deferred till the next session. I am now to inform the general court, that this scheme is resumed, and the quantum of the duty is to be one of the first things considered immediately after the meeting of the parliament. All agree, that a practicable duty should be laid, and the payment of it enforced. To attempt to controvert either of these, would be to no manner of purpose. As the general court have not been pleased to instruct me in their sentiments upon this subject, I was left to pursue my own, in conjunction with the other agents. And their silence inclined me to think, that such a scheme, if duly moderated, might not be disagreeable, though they might not choose to appear openly to oppose it. The sum at first thought of, by the treasury, was 4d. but Mr. Grenville seems to be now satisfied with two pence.

We are endeavouring at a penny ; it will not be more than two pence. All that the duty can be brought to, under that, must be reckoned as gain. There are many other regulations intended, about which I find that the gentlemen in parliament have very different ideas. I hope, however, there will be found a general disposition to serve the colonies, and not to distress them. But it will be of little use to write of conjectures. All that I can promise is, as far as my health and abilities permit, to be attentive and watchful for your interest.

I here send you a copy of his majesty's warrant for the
distribution

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distribution of the £.10,000, which is in my hands ; but the treasury letter not having come in time, it will not be paid till after the beginning of next month. I might have sent you the minute of the treasury ; but as it may be collected from the warrant, I did not think it worth the giving the clerk a guinea for it.

I am, with the highest respect for the great and general court, your most obedient, humble servant,

JASPER MAUDUIT.

LETTER FROM JASPER MAUDUIT, ESQ. TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RELATIVE TO THE DUTY ON FOREIGN MOLASSES, THE KEEPING UP TEN THOUSAND TROOPS IN AMERICA, &c.

London, 11th February, 1764.

SIR,

I AM now to acquaint the general court that the American bills are not yet brought into parliament. But as the West-India gentlemen have been at the treasury board, and the thought of laying three pence a gallon on the foreign molasses has been again resumed, I have ventured to deliver in to the lords the inclosed memorial. How far I have hit upon the sense of the general court, I cannot say, having been left without any instructions upon these subjects. In my letter of the 12th of March, I acquainted the general court with the intention of keeping up ten thousand men in the several parts of America, and the West-Indies : and that the colonies were to contribute to the maintenance of them. I have not, since the writing that letter, received any objections to this scheme ; and therefore did not think myself at liberty to make any ; but judged it best, as we could not oppose, to make a merit of our submission. Nor indeed would any opposition at all avail, in the present state of our finances. Mr. Grenville, after the kindest expressions of regard to the colonies, assured my brother, that whatever were the distresses brought upon the revenue by the extravagant expenses of the war, they did not mean to draw any thing from America for the relief of them. All that was desired was, that it should bear the charge

charge of its own government and defence, and nothing more. In this the parliament will most certainly concur with him. Nor do I find the least disposition in the other agents to oppose it. All that we can desire, therefore, is to have the duties laid in such a manner, as to be the most equal, and the least prejudicial to our trade.

I should do injustice to my brother, not to acknowledge that the memorial to the treasury is entirely of his drawing. He thought it might be of service to lay the argument in one view before their lordships, and, considering the very formidable number of votes, which the West-Indians have in the house of commons, that it is our business to avoid, as much as possible, the committing ourselves in any dispute with them. Many of the merchants, he has talked with, are convinced that it is a common concern with both colonies, to discourage, as much as possible, the French, Dutch, and Danish distilleries, and for that purpose to allow the foreign islands to sell us their molasses. But many of the mere planters do not choose to look so far. One thing their own interest has suggested, which may be of service; they have desired the lords of the treasury that no ships may be permitted to sail from the West-Indies without a certificate, upon oath, that the sugars, rum, and molasses, on board, are the produce of the island it clears from.

There is another affair, which my brother has undertaken, and hopes he may succeed in. As the renewing the bounty given to the Greenland fishery is now under consideration, he thought that this was the proper time to apply for taking off a discouragement, which lies upon yours. And after talking first with the secretary of the treasury, and then with Mr. Grenville, upon the subject, he drew up the petition inclosed, which has been signed by the merchants here, and presented to, and approved of, by the treasury, and by the board of trade. Lord Hillsborough was pleased to say, that the petition carried with it its own evidence. He hopes to get it into parliament next week, and if it be carried, it may be a saving of ten or twelve hundred pounds a year to the province.

I am, with the highest respect to the great and general court, your most obedient, humble servant,

JASPER MAUDUIT.

LETTER FROM THOMAS MAYHEW TO GOV. PRINCE.

*Upon the Vineyard, 19. 6. 1671.**Worshipful, and deservedly honoured,*

YOURS of the 5th of this instant, I received this 18th, wherein I perceive it is very true that you had great trouble with the Indians, notwithstanding your gentle and kind dealing with them, of which I never doubted, especially respecting yourself: and I cannot but wonder, and that very much, that those of *Seconnett* stand out, the chief sachem, and also the sachem of that place, having submitted. I conceive they are not without a *back*. It is probable to reason, that there is a dormant strength, to awake in its season. However, I do not question but God will direct yourself, and those with you in authority, so to order things, that they shall fall short in bringing against you any wicked designs to pass.

Honoured Sir, as to our Indians, in my best understanding, there is no manner of plot known to any of the heads of this island; for before I went to York, considering the troubles in your colony, I went to all the towns, some English with me, and they did give in their names for to subject themselves to his majesty, and to fight against his enemies and the enemies of his subjects, if called thereunto. This was upon the matter universal, only at *Metack's* place were not many present; but himself, and those present, did freely give in their names. But since I came home, bringing with me a commission to govern all the Indians of this island and Elizabeth isles, I sent for all the sachems and chief men, acquainting them with what was done. All the sachems, with many others, as well non-praying as praying men, did, with much thankfulness, submit unto his honour's act in setting me over them; and every person present, by holding up his hand, did promise to advance the worship of God. The like was never of them heretofore attained.

Sir, it is so, that my favour unto Indians hath been thought to be overmuch; but I say, my error hath been, in all cases, that I am too favourable to English; and it hath

hath always been very hard for me to preserve myself from being drawn to deal over-hardly with the Indians. Pray consider it, for I shall be circumspect as concerning the Indians, and shall advise you faithfully, as occasion presents. This day I have sent down for to acquaint them, that they keep themselves at home, lest they bring trouble on themselves. And further, these are to certify you, that thinking that the commissioners were to sit at Plymouth, and yourself president, requested to write unto you in my behalf; as by the inclosed you will see; which letter I did think to bring myself; but I hear that the commissioners sit at Boston, so I come not. I desire that if any advantage, you will put it forth to the accomplishment of the contents of his unto yourself. We had often discourse of you at my being there, who by one recommended his affectionate love unto you.

Good Sir, take it for granted, that I shall not fail, upon all occasions, to advise you of the needful concerning the ————. I hoped to have met the commissioners; but seeing they come not to Plymouth, I cannot accomplish it. Not else at present; but saluting yourself, with all due respects, commending you to God, both for direction and protection, in this great and weighty affair; with my prayers to that purpose, in haste, I rest, Sir,
your worship's to serve, your's,

THOMAS MAYHEW.

To the Right Worshipful THOMAS
PRINCE, governor of New-Plymouth. These at his house present with speed.

JAMES WALKER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR PRINCE.

Much honoured Sir,

AFTER my humble respects presented to you, these are to acquaint you with Philip's answer to your letter. My sons being visited with the ague, forced me to procure brother Harvey to go over to cousin James Brown with the letter, who sent for Mr. Williams to interpret; Mr. Williams not being well, came not till afterwards;

wards ; yet cousin James and brother Harvey went down to Mount Hope ; and the dance being broken up, Philip and the most of his chief men were much in drink ; only Acumpouin and Tom Sansuik were sober ; so that Philip could not then give any answer. Only there passed some words betwixt Philip and cousin James, and Philip struck off cousin James Brown's hat. The day following they went again to Philip, and Mr. Williams with them. The letter being read, and Philip caused fully to understand it, they could get no positive answer about Philip's coming to Plymouth, because Mr. Eliot had sent for him to Boston, and he looked for another messenger that day ; which messenger they met about two miles from Philip's house ; which messenger told them that his message was to desire Philip to be at Punkapoge the last day of this week, and at Boston the Tuesday following. Philip and Tom exclaimed much against *Sausman* for reporting that any of the Narraganset sachems were there. Not further to trouble you ; but rest desiring the good Lord to be with you, and guide you in all your weighty affairs.

Yours to serve,

JAMES WALKER.

Taunton, Sept. 1, 1671.

DANIEL GOOKIN'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR PRINCE.

HONOURED SIR,

I UNDERSTAND, by a paper brought hither by Mr. Southworth, (being a copy of some Indian testimony left upon record there), wherein I am accused for speaking words to a Natick Indian, tending to animate Philip and his Indians against you. Sir, I look upon it favoring of as little charity as justice, to receive, record, and publish Indian reports, tending to the infamy of any christian man, much more a person in public place, without any other demonstration than such figment and falsehood as usually accompany the Indians' tales. I charge no person with doing this thing ; neither do I desire to know who it is ; the Lord forgive him or them as I do, that have been the inventors or fomentors of such a false and reproachful scandal.

Sir,

Sir, let me say to you in the words of truth and soberness, and upon the fidelity of a christian, and in the presence of God, before whom all things are naked and open, that such a thing never entered into my heart, much less into my lips; neither did I, to my remembrance, either see or speak with any Natick Indian for several months before I heard of this report; nor ever did I speak or lisp to any Indian of Natick, or other, the least word about the business, since I first heard of those differences between your colony and the Indians. At the court of assistants, March sitting last, at the time when your letter came, and the court considered of it, my own conscience, and others present then, can witness, how forward I was to strengthen your hands in that matter; but first to try all ways of prudence to issue your controversy: but in case the Indians be not reduced to order, then to give forth our utmost assistance, as the case should require. And of this, both yourself and all others may rest assured, that this report is a devised thing; and I may say of it as Nehemiah, (vid. Nehemiah vi. 8.) that there is no such thing, but the authors of it have feigned it out of their own heart, to this end that my hands might be weakened in the work that God hath committed to me: but I trust in God, he will disappoint satan and his instruments, and give me courage to defy satan, and do my duty.

Sir, thus much I thought expedient to write unto you about this matter, not that I stand in need of an apology, for my innocency is to me a sufficient shield in that respect; but if I should be altogether silent, it might be interpreted that I am guilty. Sir, I trust yourself and other your magistrates will put on such christian charity as not to credit such reports; but I am not unwilling this should be searched to the bottom, and see my accusers face to face, and not to shun any scrutiny therein.

Thus desiring to present my due respects to yourself, and the rest of the magistrates, I remain your assured loving friend,

DANIEL GOOKIN.

Cambridge, the 12th of April, 1671.

LETTER

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR PRINCE TO DANIEL GOOKIN.

HONORED SIR,

YOURS of 14th instant I received yesterday, by which I perceive you are much troubled about a copy of an Indian testimony by Mr. Southworth to Boston ; not because we received it for truth, but that we might know whether there were truth in it or not, (reports being indeed very false, not only among Indians but many English also), which, for aught I yet see, might lawfully be done, without the least impeachment or diminution to charity or justice to any christian man, though in place. But whereas you please to charge us with receiving, recording, and publishing such falsehoods to your infamy ; Sir, I do assure you, in a word of truth, there is nor was not any such thing ; and therefore I might say the charge is wanting in charity, justice, and truth also. And whereas it is said you should speak words to animate Philip and his Indians against us ; it is some mistake or misrepresentation, for that paper spoke it not. That spake of *not fighting with Indians about horses and hogs*, as matters too low to shed blood, and verily, Sir, we think so too ; and therefore advised them to keep on the north side of the line, and not go to Philip to fight ; but if any did go, and were killed, they should keep an account of them, for what end I know not. The last words, about keeping an account, are to me enigmatical ; but in the whole, not one word of animating *Philip* and his Indians to fight against us ; and therefore that report cannot be rationally fathered upon that paper. For your readiness, with the rest of the honoured magistrates, to strengthen our weakness in case of need, we do and shall acknowledge it as a signal token of your brotherly love and care for us : and your sending messengers to see the ground or cause of all their hostile preparations, a high experiment of christian prudence, most acceptable to us, and owned of the Lord also, by the good success he was pleased to give to their endeavours and travel ; who have, I hope, so fully informed not only the honourable court that sent them, but all others,

that

that any scruples or jealousies on our part needlessly to interrupt the peace of the country, is, by that prudent act of yours, removed. And truly, Sir, what was mentioned in that note, was never so received by us; but upon your disowning it, we should readily reject it as a false report, without any of those several kinds of asseverations you please to express.

Sir, I hope you will still retain a charitable opinion of us, and your good affection towards us, notwithstanding what weakness you may apprehend in us. That must be owned on all hands to be a real truth, *in many things we offend all*, and need another manner of covering for our best actions from the pure eyes of the eternal Judge than our own righteousness, even the perfect righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whose grace I unfeignedly commend you, and rest, Sir, your friend and servant,

THOMAS PRINCE.

Plymouth, this 26th of April, 1671.

These for his very good friend, captain Daniel Gookin, at Cambridge, to be presented.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE CHURCH AT NATICK TO WILLIAM AND ANTHONY.

WE, the poor church of Natick, hearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missogkonnog Indians, (for what cause we know not), though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed; especially, because we have not heard that they have done any thing worthy of death. Therefore, we do send these our two brethren, Anthony and William, who were formerly our messengers to those parts, and we request John Sausiman to join them. And this trust we commit unto you, our dear brethren and beloved—

I. To go to the Missogkonnog Indians, or who else may be concerned in the quarrel; tell them the poor church

church of Natick sends them two scriptures, which we intreat them to obey. The first is Deut. xx. 10, 11, where we see, as it is the duty of Plymouth to offer you peace before they war upon you; so it is your duty to offer, accept, and desire peace; and we pray you for God's sake, and for your soul's sake, obey this word of God. The second text is 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, where God commandeth, that when difference arise among people, they ought to put their differences to arbitration of others; and therefore we do exhort you to obey this word of God; and whatever differences are betwixt you and the English of Aquidneck, or betwixt you and Plymouth, refer them all to the judgment of the rulers of the Massachusetts; and whatever they judge, do you obey; lay down your lives and all you have at their feet.

If they of Missogkonnog accept this our exhortation, tell them that the church hath also sent you to the governor, to tell him what the church hath done, and how acceptable it is to you, and that you do obey both these words of God. You desire peace, and desire to refer the whole matter to the judgment of the government of the Massachusetts.

2. When you come to the governor, tell him that the church hath sent you to be mediators of peace in the behalf of the Missogkonnog Indians, or any other of their neighbours; tell him that they yield willing obedience to both those texts of scripture, and therefore tell him that the poor church of Natick doth beseech him, and all the rest of the magistrates, for God's sake, who is the God of peace, and for Christ his sake, who is the King of peace, and our great Peace-Maker in heaven, that they would accept this offer and submission unto peace, and unto the instituted way of making and establishing of peace, and to cease pressing and arming of soldiers, and marching against them that are desirous of peace. We beseech you to consider what comfort it will be to kill or be killed, when no capital sin hath been committed or defended by them, (that we hear of.)

And we request you our beloved brethren to be speedy in your motions. We shall endeavour to follow you with our prayers, and long to hear of a happy peace, that may open

open a clear door for the passage of the gospel among that people. Thus commending you to God in prayer, we do send you forth upon this great service of peace-making, which is eminently the flower and glory of Christ his kingdom.

JOHN ELIOT,

with the consent of the church.

Natick, August, or 5 mo, 1st, 1671.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR PRINCE TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

LOVING SIR,

I RECEIVED your's ———, whereby you are pleased to remind me of the copy of your's to Major Mason, which, according to direction, I presented; which done, I know not what you expected more from us. In it you mention your great sufferings and sorrows in and for the country, in times past (which indeed should not be forgot) and of a present difference between your colony and Connecticut, which we are strangers to, and yet cannot but be grieved at (if so as you relate); which will indeed be ill resented not only to the savages, in whose land we sojourn, but others also, and to our own sovereign lord the King; doubtless displeasing to our gracious God. But we hope you will both of you labour to compose your differences, as becometh so near neighbours, fellow subjects to one king, professed servants to one holy, just and righteous God, at which we shall rejoice. In it, also, you offer a public dispute, in your three neighbour colonies; the ground thereof, I did not then well perceive; but in your last you seem to give it in, affirming that Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut have designed to oppress and undo your colony, and deprive you of that, which is by some cried up above all you call New-England's gods, viz. liberty for every one to worship God as he lists, or liketh best; and why not what God he liketh best also?

Sir, I will not say as Nehemiah vi. 8, when upon him and others of the people of God with him, a most grievous, but false charge was laid; but this I say in the words of truth, there is no such thing known to us, much less intended

intended by us, nor hath been here the least mention of any such thing but from yourself; and I have reason to conclude the same of the other two colonies, till I see or perceive any thing to the contrary. From what fountain this so foul and false a charge doth arise, I leave to yourself to examine and find out; but if from the same or like forementioned large principle of liberty, I shall like it the worse. But know assuredly, there is no such thing intended or imagined, except among yourselves, that I know of; and therefore the main ground of your dispute with us faileth, not having truth to bottom on, as to us. And you please to signify that major Mason will save you that labour as to that colony, being content to take up with a sight of your grounds and reasons: and truly, Sir, so I dare presume, shall we. So that except the gentlemen of the Bay will accept of the challenge, (who are wise enough to manage their own concerns) the dispute is at an end; not because we have not some, through the grace of God, both able and willing to maintain what truth we profess against gainfayers; nor because we judge ourselves perfect in knowledge, but desire and endeavour daily to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. But who would expect to be any whit perfected or completed in matters appertaining to God's worship, by such as close not with any public worship upon earth, that is known? Not I. Such worship, and a Samaritan religion are much alike to me. But if you judge it advantageous to your colony's interest, and what you account the only way of worship among you, who can hinder you to maintain the discussion of those propositions in any of our towns, and at what times you please? And all such as judge it worth their labour, either to do or receive good thereby, may have recourse thither. But I hope there is not many among us that have received Christ Jesus the Lord, but have so received him as not now to seek that way of worship, having of him been taught the truth as it is in Jesus.

Sir, not being willing to give you the least occasion to think your pains in writing was wholly disregarded, I was willing to scribble these few lines, having an opportunity of sending, and submit to your censure for what is amiss;

but

but doubt not you will rather impute it to my old age, than want of love to yourself, whose real happiness I do unfeignedly desire and pray for, and rest, Sir, yours in any office of love,

THOMAS PRINCE.

To his loving friend Mr. Roger Williams, at Providence, these present.

NOTE. This copy of a letter was found among the *Winslow papers*, at the family seat in Marshfield, and presented to a member of the Historical Society, with a number of other ancient papers, by Dr. *Isaac Winslow*. It is not dated. It was probably written soon after R. Williams's letter to major Mason, a copy of which was sent to Governor Prince, and which was published in the first volume, page 275, of the Collections of the Society.

JAMES QUANAPAU'S INFORMATION.

24th 11 mo. 1675.

James Quanapaug, an Indian, sent out with Job, as spies, to make discovery of the enemy; returneth as followeth—

Saith,

THE first night after his departure from Natick, he came to Heflamefit, and from thence went to Manexit, where he met seven Indians of the enemy, who took Job and him. They were Quahmsit and Segunesit Indians. The next day we went to Quabaug pond, and met other Indians at Quabaug old fort, four men and two squaws. There we lay all night. Next day one Indian said he would carry us to the Indians; and we crossed over on this side Quabaug, and travelled one day; and in the night came to three Indian towns, the furthest not above three miles distant from the other, in which there was about 300 soldiers, besides women and children, and lie about thirty miles from Lancaster. The place is called Menemessleg, about twenty miles to the northward of Connecticut path. They have bark wigwams for shelter, and some mats; have pork, beef, and venison plenty. Their corn, he thinks, will fall short. The first night they asked us how we came from the island. We told them we

we lived badly, had no firing, and run away. They said we were the English's brothers, and came as spies, and said they would kill us ; but some of the chief would not yield to it. They were two Narragansets, would have had us killed. They inquired, what army was at Narraganset. We told them, we knew not ; we dare not go to Boston. One Indian would have borrowed my knife, another my hatchet. Then I spake to Job, saying, come let us go to their council. The first night we came, they took our snow-shoes from us ; and one-eyed John told us, it was a great way, we could not come there by night ; but we went, and found it but three miles. We came to the chief wigwam, where was about fifty men. They did not ask us many questions. Tuckup William told us, they had appointed to kill James Speen, Andrew Pitimy, captain Hunter, Thomas Quanapu, and Peter Ephraim, if they fell into their hands, and that Philip had hired them to do it ; and said, I was one of the worst, and they would kill me, because I went up with the army to Swanze, where Pebe and one of Philip's counsellors were killed, and that I helped to cut off their heads, and bade me look to myself. Next morning I went to one-eyed John's wigwam. He said he was glad to see me ; I had been his friend many years, and had helped him kill Mohauge ; and said, nobody should meddle with me. I told him what was said to me. He said, if any body hurt me they should die. Then came Matoonus his company and others, and went to dancing ; we painted our faces and went to dancing with them, and were very good friends. The dance continued two or three nights, after which they looked badly upon me again. I lay in the sagamore's wigwam ; and he charged his gun, and threatened any man that should offer me hurt ; and all those of his wigwam were of that mind, and sent a guard with me to the place whence I came. I went to another sachem, who told me, nobody should hurt me. I asked one-eyed John, how many men he lost : he said, but two. I asked him how many he lost up about Hatfield : he said, he lost one in the fight with captain Beers ; another in fight with captain Lathrop. He hath about forty men under him. I asked him how many Philip and Northampton Indians lost :

lost: he said, but two. I asked him how much ammunition he had: he said, half a peck of powder, and shewed me it. He said, he had it from the soldiers that were slain, some, and some from the fort of Orania. They have in these towns about twice so many women and children as are persons upon Deer island. He said, he expected help from the Wampanags and Mohawks, between this and planting time. The Mohawks say, they will not kill the English, but they will kill the Mohegins. The Frenchmen, that went up from Boston to Norwuthick, were with the Indians, and shewed them some letters, and burnt some papers there, and bid them they should not burn mills nor meeting-houses, for there God was worshipped; and told them that they would come by land, and assist them, and would have Connecticut river, and that ships would come from France and stop up the bay, to hinder English ships and soldiers coming. And this Indian told me, they would fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield; and that the first thing they would do should be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so to hinder their flight, and assistance coming to them; and that they intended to fall upon them in about twenty days time from Wednesday last.* The Narragansets sent up one English head to them by two of their men; and they shot at the Narragansets, told them they had been friends to the English, and that head was nothing. Afterwards they sent up two men more, with twelve scalps; then they received them, and hung the scalps on trees. Whilst I was there, another messenger came, brought nothing, but desired assistance, and said, they lost but forty fighting men, and three hundred old men, women, and children; and said, they had a great English captain among them, who had killed five Englishmen; that captain Mosely was killed, and that the Narragansets were drawing to Quantick; two hundred men were come then; that they are in three companies; Pomham is by himself, and Quananstet by himself; Ninegret is parted from them. They said, Ninegret's men pretended to help the English, but were false, and did not shoot against the Indians; but that the Mohegins killed more than

* They attacked Lancaster on the 10th of February, 1676.

than the English. They said, there is an Englishman called Williams about Mr. Stanton's, who, after the fight, came to the fort to the sachems to beg for his life, and the life of his wife and children, tendered them his cattle, corn, and goods, and to bring them what powder he could. Robert Pepper is a prisoner among the Indians where I was; was wounded in the fight in the leg, and got into a tree and lay there, and Sam of Mashaway took him, and dragged him away, and abused him. After two days, Sam took him into his wigwam, and told him, if he did not die of his wound he should not be killed, and doth now use him kindly. Pepper told me, his master Sam said he should go home in the spring. Philip hath two prisoners of the English, one Greenleaf's man, a ship carpenter, and a Barbadoes boy. Philip is well, and within half a day's journey of the fort Orania on that side; Hadley Indians are on this side, a little distant one from the other. Sancumucha, Hadley sachem, was ready to kill Philip; told him, he had brought all this trouble on them. They lived very well by the English; two Mo-haugs have been with them the last summer, and buy powder for them at Orania. Two Wam-paugs are with them. The old men are weary of the war, but the young men are for the continuance of it. They say, they have good store of arms. Marlborough Indians are with them; they say, they were fetched away by the other Indians; some of them are very willing to come back. They had appointed a time to carry me with them to Philip, and Job to Narragan-set, to tell what news we had brought; but I put them off, that I would go out first with some Indians, and kill some English, and carry their heads to Philip; but Job and I consulted to go a hunting, and borrowed Sampson's gun, and we found four deers, and killed them, and got into a swamp, and lay there all night. Next morning dressed our venison; then I came away, and left Job; he said, he would go to Narragan-set; and if he lived, would return in three weeks. We parted on Thursday last, about three o'clock in the morning. It is reported, there is seven hundred fighting men, well armed, left of the Narragan-sets.

LETTER

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR STUYVESANT, OF NEW-YORK,
TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Right honourable Sirs,

THE engagement whereby I confessed myself obliged unto your honours, to your citizens, both horse and foot, for the large respects, honourable reception, and entertainment in the city and colony of Boston, doth provoke me, by this seasonable opportunity, to return all due and thankful acknowledgment, which should have been done sooner, if my sickness, and other intervening occasions, had not occasioned this neglect. But I hope it will be never too late to offer this tribute of thankfulness, and due engagement, unto your honours, in any occasion.

Further, right honourable sirs, I cannot omit to acquaint both your honours, and also, by these presents, the worshipful commissioners of your honour's colony, the irregular proceedings and writings, first of captain John Talcott's, and upon his animation, the very unlawful, seditious, and insupportable proceedings and actings of one Richard Pantom, before my departure from hence to Boston, upon the maine, at ———, and in my absence, upon the Long-Island, diverting and provoking, not only by subordinated means, but by the power of his pistol, and by the commission of his sword, drawing the good subjects off their oath and duty, which they stand engaged to the high and mighty States General of the United Belgick Provinces, the honourable Lords Bwinthebbers ———, of the West-India company; and these things passed in my absence. After my return, I did send three agents unto the General Court or Assembly of Hartford colony, acquainting them with the premises, as by the inclosed may appear; but nothing which was answerable could be attained. But since the return of our agents, and after the aforementioned general assembly of Hartford, whether with their cognizancy we forbear to assert, a greater company, under the command of one John Cee and Anthony Waters, did gather together, upon Long-Island, to the number (as I was informed) of fourscore, or thereabouts,

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horse

horse and foot ; went first to Gravesend, and afterwards to the other English towns, discharged the old magistrates of their oaths and places, and set up others ; threatened both Dutch and English to fire and to sword, if they would not yield unto their unlawful, irregular, and violent actings. We dare not imagine ourselves, that Hartford's general court had given any orders or commission in writing. What encouragement some, in particular, had given, I must leave for the present. Truly, right honourable sirs, if we had been so inconsult and ready in opposing such violent actings and irregular proceedings, as we justly might have done, great bloodshed and murder might be the result and event of it. But bearing more respect to the advice and proposals of the right honourable commissioners for the three other colonies, that the matters in controversy might be respited and attended at a next meeting of the commissioners at Hartford, A.D. 1664 ; and that the persons concerned in it may be acquitted from all damages and penalties ; our condescendency in these proposals, and for to prevent further troubles and bloodshed, we have hitherto forborne all these insupportable actings with patience, until I have acquainted your honours, and also the right honourable commissioners of the other colonies of these matters, and received their answer thereunto, if any means may be found, whereby these and further dissentions, troubles and bloodshed, may be prevented ; whereon I shall so speedy as is possible expect your honours' advice and answer ; and in the meanwhile, all kind salutations, my due respect and service promised, I shall remain

your honours' loving friend and neighbour,

(Was underwritten)

P. STUYVESANT.

Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, this

20th November, A. D. 1663.

The superscription,

*To the right honourable Governor, Commissioners,
and Court of Massachusetts colony, at Boston.*

DEPOSITION

DEPOSITION OF HUGH COLE, AT PLYMOUTH COURT,
A. D. 1670.

HUGH Cole, aged forty-three, or thereabouts, being deposed, saith;—That in February last past before the date hereof, he went to Shewamett, and two Englishmen more with him; and that their business was to persuade the Indians to go to Plymouth, to answer a complaint made by Hezekiah Luther. The Indians (saith he) seeing us, came out of the house towards us, being many of them; at the least twenty or thirty, with staves in their hands; and when the Indians saw there were but three of us, they laid down their staves again. Then we asked the Indians, what they did with those staves in their hands? they answered, that they looked for Englishmen to come from Plymouth to seek Indians, to carry them to Plymouth. But they said, they were not willing to go. And some time after, in the same morning, Philip, the chief sachem, sent for me to come to him; and I went to Mount Hope to him; and when I came to Mount Hope, I saw the most part of the Indians that I knew of Shewamett Indians, there at Mount Hope. And they were generally employed in making of bows and arrows and half pikes, and fixing up of guns. And I saw many Indians of several places repair toward Mount Hope. And some few days after I came from Mount Hope, I, with several others, saw one of captain Willet's rangers coming on post on horseback, who told us, that king Philip was marched up the neck with about three score men; and Zacary Eddy, on his report, went to see if he could find them; and he found them towards the upper part of the neck, in several companies. One Caleb Eddy further saith, that he saw many there in arms; and I was informed by John Padduck, that he saw two several guns loaded with bullets or flugs. And I further testify, that those Indians that I saw come towards Mount Hope, as aforesaid, came better armed than I usually have seen them. Further saith not.

The oath of Hugh Cole, taken in the court held at Plymouth, the eighth of March, 1670.

Attested by me,

NATHANIEL MORTON, secretary.

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF SALEM, BY THE REV.
WILLIAM BENTLEY.

SALEM, the most ancient town of old Massachusetts, is in the county of Essex, and is situated in latitude $42^{\circ} 35'$ N. and in long. $70^{\circ} 47'$ W. It is upon Massachusetts Bay, upon a point of land, projecting into the sea, having the shore of Beverly on the north, and Marblehead on the south. The town, or principal settlement, is above the utmost point of land, commonly called the neck, and an island called Winter island, lying south-east, ^{erly} of the neck, and joined only by a narrow causeway. The town is upon a regular and very level spot, rising from the shore about twenty feet, and all its inequalities are so inconsiderable, as to escape notice, when the town is viewed from the surrounding heights. The surface of the neck and of Winter island is very irregular, and the lands westward of the town are of considerable height, and in the rudest forms of nature. Excepting on the line of the sea, the town of Salem, as it now is a township, is separated, from the adjacent towns, which were chiefly parts of itself, by artificial, rather than any natural boundaries. The longest line begins upon the sea between Marblehead and Lynn, on the beach, in a small gore, four rods wide. The line between Lynn and Salem runs from the sea N. 56° W. till it reach the road from Salem to Boston, above four miles from Salem court-house, the line being from the sea nearly three miles. The boundary between Salem and Danvers continues from this line on the Boston road, till it reaches the old road, which was open when the line was given. It pursues this old road near Strong-Water brook, and enters again the Boston road, at the place where this brook passed the road, and then continues with the road, till a line in the road intersects another line from North-fields below the mills on North river. It then continues over North-fields, till it reach the shore near Horse-pasture point, or the point of land in the river between Beverly and Salem. The boundary between Salem and Marblehead begins below the upper bridge on Forest river, and passing eastward of

Legge's

Legge's hill, Gey and Deep ponds, goes to an acute angle in the road from Marblehead to Boston, and then proceeds to the sea, four rods from Lynn line.

The township includes five thousand four hundred and twenty-nine acres, in all its lands and islands. The part, called the Great pasture, or common and undivided proprietors' land, as it now is, lies westward of the town. It communicates with the town by a narrow lot of land, lying back of the lots on the mill pond, and is bounded on its northern side by a wall, in a south westerly course, till it reach the summit of a hill, and then taking a more southerly course to Ash swamp in Lynn line. Its S. E. boundary are the lots beyond Great swamp and the Forest-river lots. These lots have, by consent, been separated from the pasture, and lay on the banks of the river, and on the sides of the Marblehead road. It is separated from the South-fields, by the Forest-river road. The part, which lays from Pine hill towards Marblehead road, now separated, was called Darling's neck, and that now in the pasture, between Clay brook and Forest river, Holmes's neck. The want of bridges formerly made that distinction more important, than it can now appear. The whole pasture contains one thousand and twenty-five acres.

The lands, which lay between the Great pasture and Boston road, including more than two thousand five hundred acres, are settled in distinct lots upon the road, and of the back lands, ten acres are appropriated for the ministers, and sixty for the poor. Such as remain undivided are held by proprietors, under the name of the Sheep pasture.

Of all the swamps, the Great swamp, so called, is most remarkable. It is half a mile long, nearly N. and S. and of a triangular figure, containing fifty-five acres. It was overflowed in 1786, and opened in 1790; but being in the common pasture, it is of little profit. It is passed at Chip bridge, near Lynn line, and empties at the northern and broader path, round Pine hill, into Forest river. Pine swamp and Blueberry swamp empty into it. It would be easy to bring these waters away from Forest river into Clay brook, to supply the mills near the town. Just below Cotton swamp, so called from its moss, and communicating with Forest-river, is Round swamp, which receives

Acorn

Acorn brook. Acorn brook unites with Cold-Spring brook, and then forms Clay brook, and empties into South river, which is now obstructed by a mill bridge, near the town. Long swamp runs between ridges, on the west side, called the Timber hills, and on the east, the Spring hills. A high hill near the Great swamp is the head of the Timber hills. The springs from the Spring hills empty into Long swamp. The principal spring empties opposite to the run from Ash swamp. Near Ash swamp is a hill called Bellyhac; on one side is the run from Ash swamp, and on the other from the Sheep pasture, emptying into Long swamp. On Long swamp is Alister's run, on the west side of a high hill, called Lord's hill, where are remains of the garden, cellar, and inclosures of this primitive planter, upon a spot ever since deserted by man. The garden was eastward of the house, and higher upon the hill. Lord's hill is the highest land, and has a spring which runs into Long swamp. Rail and Thistle hills lay between Lord's hill, and the hill in the bend of the wall between the Sheep and Great pastures, now called Pickering's hill. All the waters below Long swamp, in these grounds, empty into Acorn brook. Split-Rock spring, and Flat-Rock spring, near the divisional wall of the pastures, empty into Acorn brook. There is a spring in Conconut hollow, near the Great swamp, and another from Monument hill. This hill is commonly distinguished by a pile of stones, and is in the divisional wall between the upper and lower part of the Great pasture. The town bears from Great-Monument N. 40. E. at the distance of two miles. There is a range of hills eastward of Boston road, with bald rocks upon them. The whole western lands are of the same description.

In the S. W. part of the township is a beautiful pond, called Spring pond, in extent about sixty acres, on the height of land, as the ponds beyond empty into Lynn bay. It is not far from Boston road, and on the eastern side; and near it is a hill with a pine grove, upon a spot which exhibits the wildest scenery of nature. The pond is clear, and easy of approach on all sides. The land is high on the east and west sides, and its length is north and south. At its southern end it is divided by a conical hill, which projects

projects into it, and which could admit many artificial beauties. From this pond proceeds a brook, which is assisted by the neighbouring ponds, and which, half a mile from the northern end of Spring pond, receives the springs, which supply the aqueduct of the town. This brook proceeds at the foot of the high hills with naked rocks, which lay eastward of it. Between the brook and the Boston road is a plain. As the hills approach the road, the brook takes a more westerly direction, and in crossing Boston road, it obtains the name of Butt brook. It passes into Danvers, and empties into North river. The wash of the range of hills, on their eastern side, forms a small run into Spring pond, and below they empty into Strong-Water brook, which passes not far from Boston road, and being joined with some eastern waters, it is led to a mill, and then passes Boston road into North river. The numerous hills and washes occasion several small runs of water, which empty into the Great pasture, and into Forest river, or by Acorn brook, or nearer the town, by Frost-Fish brook, into South river, now the town mill-pond.

Forest river is upon the boundary between Salem and Marblehead, and empties into Salem harbour, at the tide mills on the new road to Marblehead. Its course is northeasterly, and it forms a considerable basin of water. It has an arm, which enters it on the north side. Half a mile above the mills is the upper bridge, on the old road from Salem to Marblehead. Above this bridge it beautifully winds its course through a marsh, of high value to the original planters. As it passes below Pine hill from the Great swamp, it receives a stream from the meadows, and Coy and Deep ponds discharge into it at the foot of Legge's hill, and enter it just above the bridge. The causeway at the mills has been lately repaired, and affords a pleasant view of the river as far as the upper bridge. From the causeway the river is N. $285^{\circ} 50'$ to the head, and to the upper bridge N. $238^{\circ} 40'$.

South river has also mills and a bridge over it just above the wharves. It is nearly half a mile in a N. W. course, and then it peninsulates Castle-hill Farm, and at high tides furrounds it. Proceeding on each side for half
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a mile further, it takes a southerly direction, towards the northern arm of Forest river, and so peninsulates South-fields. Opposite to Castle-hill it receives Frost-fish brook, and above, on its western side, Clay brook.

North river empties into Bass or Beverly river, between Orne's point on North-fields side, and a sandy point, called Horton's point, on Salem side. There is a bridge over it into the North fields, and some navigation. The northern side of North-fields is washed by Woolston, or Porter's river, just as it enters Bass river. The entrance of North river is one quarter of a mile above Essex bridge, between Beverly and Salem, and its course is winding, and channel narrow, and being almost empty at the ebb of the tide. Vessels use it as far as north bridge, and vessels are built above north bridge at the mills. It is three quarters of a mile from the mouth of the river to north bridge, and about half a mile to the place where it is obstructed by the mills, from the bridge. There is a beautiful view of the North river, between its mouth and north bridge, from Windmill point, on the town side, when the river is full.

The whole shore is indented so as to afford many coves for small boats. There is an inlet round Horse-pasture point, in North-fields, which communicates with Porter's river. There is a bridge over it above Goodale's spring, now so called. On North river there is a spacious cove within Windmill point.

Shallop cove is also large. It is entered from Beverly harbour, and includes all the waters, which are between the neck and Planter's marsh, near Essex bridge. There is also Spring cove below it, and a cove within the bar, called Beverly bar. The whole shore is indented from the bar, as far as the inlet between the neck and Winter island. The causeway between the neck and Winter island now forms two coves; the outer, now Abbot's cove; and the inner, now Cat cove, formerly Winter harbour, as the whole Salem harbour was called Summer harbour. Within the point of the neck projecting into Salem harbour, now called Point of rocks, is another cove, which probably will be of great importance.

On both sides of Stage point, or the point in South-

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fields opposite to the wharves, are convenient coves, used by the inhabitants for careening their vessels. Within Long point is another deep cove; and there are coves on each side of the southern point of South-fields, now called Pickering's point.

The Marblehead side of Salem harbour is much indented, and the principal coves are Beal's, or Thrognorton's, opposite to Pickering's point, and Haskell's cove, under Naugus's head, which is a high hill, commanding the entrance of Salem harbour, and opposite to fort Pickering, on Winter island, about half a mile distant. Haskell's cove was formerly the landing of the ferry from Salem, and now is provided with a convenient wharf.

South-fields, so called, are the lands included between Forest and South rivers, and are divided from the Great pasture by Forest-river road. These lands are in good cultivation. Near the town are some settlements; the rest remain in farms and lots, possessed by the inhabitants of the town. The most distinguished farm on the road to Marblehead is Fitch's farm, with a handsome farm-house. This is inherited, by marriage, by a son of E. H. Derby. On Forest-river road, is Col. Pickman's farm, with convenient buildings. Castle-hill farm belongs to the family of Lynde; but the spacious building on the hill is suffered to decay. The lands towards the town are more level, and have more gentle slopes, than towards Forest river. Brown's hill is eastward of the road to Marblehead, and there is a beautiful hill near Col. Pickman's farm-house. The meadows are chiefly upon South river. Castle-hill farm lies in South river, and is above half a mile in length, nearly north and south, and terminating at its northern end in a high hill, bold on its south side, but gently sloping to the river. The South-fields contain six hundred acres. Darling's neck, beyond Legge's hill, the south side of Forest river, lies upon the west side of Marblehead road to Boston. Upon passing Forest river upper bridge, the road goes over the eastern part of Legge's hill, which is the highest land towards Marblehead, and is open to Salem harbour. South-westerly from Legge's hill, and at a small distance, are Coy and Deep ponds. The land lays in great hollows, called Dungeons, of which Deep pond

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seems to be one, being of small circumference, and yet of 28 feet depth. Silver hole, near Legge's hill, in Salem boundary line, is another ; but dry during the greater part of the year. As Salem has continued the line between Lynn and Marblehead, there is a gore on the east side of the Marblehead road, containing forty-one acres, from the house lately occupied by general Glover. This gentleman thought a canal might be easily made from Forest river to Lynn beach, by Coy and Deep ponds, and the low lands on the eastern side of Marblehead road.

North-fields are the lands lying north of North river. The settlements in these fields were early, and more flourishing formerly, while the fishery was carried on in Salem. The principal street is well settled, about one quarter of a mile. On the eastern cross road, there is a beautiful seat belonging to Col. Foster, and the farm is the largest and best in North-fields. A new road has been opened from North bridge, around the shore, as far as the mills, and it will afford some excellent house lots. It passes at the foot of an hill called Paradise, from the delightful view of the western part of the town. The lands are in lots, and well cultivated. North-fields contain four hundred and ninety acres. The eastern part is of a more regular surface than the western, and gently sloping towards the river.

The Neck, commonly so called, is an irregular point of land, lying below the town, extending one mile north-easterly. It was the place on which part of the first settlements were made ; but there is but one house now remaining as private property, and it is upon a farm formed of the first lots purchased by colonel Higginson, and possessed by captain Ives, Derby, and now by captain Allen. The Neck contains one hundred and forty-six acres, of which the greater part are in a town pasture, annually rented to the inhabitants as a cow pasture. The lands belonging to the settlement, called Watertown, and lying in Salem harbour, on the Point of rocks, are still private property, and are inclosed, as are the lots purchased by colonel Higginson, and lying on Abbot's cove. About one hundred acres are in the common pasture. This land is level near the town, and then suddenly rises into rough hills, and then becomes level again toward the sea. The inhabitants

inhabitants are supplied abundantly with rocks for building of cellars from the hills, which are not half a mile from the town. On the height of land a fort was erected in 1773, which has been suffered to decay.

Winter island lies upon the north side of the entrance into Salem harbour, being about half a mile long, and containing thirty-eight acres. It is high, but highest at the southern part, opposite to the Point of rocks on the neck. It was early improved in the fishery, and for ship-building, and had several houses upon it. It has now a store and wharf on the southern end, at the entrance of Cat cove. It had several wharves formerly. At its eastern point is a fort, erected for the defence of the harbour, which is now repaired and ceded to the United States. The fort is named *Fort Pickering*, in honour of the Secretary of State, who was born in Salem. Winter island is used as a common pasture, excepting a small part, lying upon Abbot's cove, which belongs to the neck farm. The ship *Essex*, of the American navy, was built upon this island. The adjacent islands are annexed to Salem, and may thus be described.

Baker's island was so called by the first settlers, and lays on the south side of the principal entrance into Salem harbour, bearing east from fort Pickering on Winter island, about four miles from the fort, which is a mile below the town. It contains fifty-five acres of land. A light-house was raised upon this island, by the United States, in 1797, and the lights were first shewn on 3d of January, 1798. The lights, at the distance of forty feet, range N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. and S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. The south light is 95 feet high from the sea, and the north 78 feet. The building is of wood, and provided for a family. Ten acres of land belong to the United States. The water is deep near the island, but there is no convenient landing place. The island, in its greatest length, is three-eighths of a mile, north and south. The outward or eastern side is high and rocky, the northern side highest. Upon the western side is a beach, from which stones have been supplied for pavements. There is a small channel between the southern rocks of the island and the Dry Breakers, but it can be safe only to those acquainted with it. As this is the most remarkable island, the

the following bearings and distances, from a position near the light-house, may be useful.

Bearing of the eastern point of Cape Ann,	N. 74 E.
Gale's ledge,	N. 59 E.
W. part of House island,	N. 17 E.
E. part of Whale's Back,	N. 15 E.
E. part of Great Misery,	N. 14 W.
S. part of Little Misery,	N. 41 W.
Fennapoo, or Bowditch's ledge,	N. 68 W.
N. part of Hardy's rocks,	N. 81 W.
N. part of Haste with middle of second } Hardy's rocks,	N. 82 W.
S. part of Coney island,	W. 2 S.
Naugus Head on Marblehead shore,	W. 5 S.
N. part of Grey rock,	W. 16 S.
N. part of Eagle island,	W. 18 S.
S. part of Marblehead neck,	W. 31 S.
N. part of Cat island,	W. 33 S.
Middle of Pope's Head,	W. 35 S.
Middle of E. rock of Cat island over N. } part of Tinker's island,	W. 45 S.
N. part of Western Gooseberry,	W. 49 S.
Satan, or Black rock,	W. 58 S.
Middle of Eastern Gooseberry,	W. 64 S.
Halfway rock,	E. 88 S.
S. breaker of Baker's island,	E. 62 S.
E. breaker of Baker's island,	E. 55 S.

Distance of Gale's ledge from the light-house, } nearly 2 miles.

Little Misery,	about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Bowditch's ledge,	$1\frac{1}{4}$ mile.
Hardy's rocks,	nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Eagle island,	almost a mile.
Cat island,	above 2 miles.
Coney island,	above $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
Haste rock,	above $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.
Eastern Gooseberry,	$\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Black Rock, or Satan,	above $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
Southern Breaker,	$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.
Halfway rock,	above $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.
	- Misery

Misery island contains eighty-two acres, and is joined to the Little Misery island of three acres, at half tide, by a bar, then above water. It was early called Moulton's Misery, from a shipwreck. The Little Misery island makes the northern side of the channel, opposite to Baker's island. The figure is more irregular than Baker's island, but it has a convenient harbour for small boats on its northern side. It formerly had an house upon it, but has had no building since 1782. It is used as a sheep pasture. Its surface is rough. It is walled. It has a convenient pond, but has not been so much cultivated as Baker's island. It is more sandy towards West beach on Beverly shore, from which it is not half a mile distant, and more rocky towards the sea. The island is forty-four chains in its greatest length, N. and S. and twenty-four chains in its greatest breadth, at its western part, nearest to the shore. The Little Misery is ten chains in length, having its most western its most projecting point into the channel.

House island, so called from the appearance of a rock, is of an oblong and irregular figure. It contains about five acres of land, about half a mile eastward of the Misery island, and lying near the Manchester shore. It is difficult of approach, but in steering for Baker's island well out of the course of navigation, being northerly about one mile's distance, N. 18 E. Its greatest length is ten chains, or half a quarter of a mile.

Cat island, containing about nine acres, lies $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Marblehead neck, and S. W. from Baker's island, and ranges from Baker's island clear of Marblehead neck. There was an hospital for the small-pox on the S. E. end of this island, which was burnt. The extent of the soil is 2167 links, about N. W. and S. E. but the rocks being included, the island is above 28 chains. At the N. W. end is a high beach, which forms a point directly opposite to the point of Marblehead, called Peach's point. The shore is irregular and rocky. There are springs on the S. E. end, which terminates in a high rocky head. Beyond, and on the line of the island, are two other heads of nearly the same projection; and on the southern side are three high rocks, but not so large as the former. Two of them are connected with the island, by bars of sand, out of water

water at the ebb : the other stands boldly up within these two, but more southerly. Grey rock, which lies at nearly the same distance from Cat island as from Peach's point, is nearly twenty feet above high water mark, and is without any soil.

Halfway rock is above forty feet high, but the Black rock, bearing easterly from Cat island, is not so high as Grey rock. Marblehead rock, between Cat island and Marblehead neck, is not so high as Halfway rock. The Haste is a broken rock, lying near the channel, and about one mile and a quarter from Salem neck.

The Gooseberries are beds of high rocks, with a little soil upon their summits, lying S. W. from Baker's island, and within the Dry rocks, called Baker's island Dry Breakers. They are called the Pope's head, the western and Eastern Gooseberries ranging southeasterly, distant from one quarter to above half a mile from Baker's island.

Coney island lays off the mouth of Salem harbour, and does not contain one acre of soil. It is about one mile from the extreme point of Marblehead, northeasterly, and not two miles from fort Pickering, on Winter island, E. 4 S. It has a large body of rocks, which extend S. E. from it, leaving a small channel.

Eagle island is about one and a half mile from Peach's point. It has not one acre of ground ; but this spot is filled with a wild growth, in all the luxuriance of uncultivated nature. It lies nearly N. and S. A point from the S. end, tends westerly, from which is a bar. The southern end is a slate rock.

Tinker's island contains about two acres of soil, and lies off Marblehead neck, from its S. W. point ; distant about one quarter of a mile. It lies nearly north and south. The eastern or outer side is a ragged rock, much broken. The water is shoal within. In the middle of the island is a spot of good land, and there is a smaller spot on the southern head. The tops of the rocks are in the slate, called Rotten rock. The two heads are nearly separated. The southern end resembles a horn. It is about four miles from Baker's island, southwesterly.

Ram island lies W. 20 S. from Tinker's island, one and half mile distant ; and the divisional line between Salem and

and Lynn passes over the southwestern rocks of this island: It lays three fourths of a mile from Lynn or Bartlet's beach. It has a rocky shore. On the western side it is not bold. On the southwest some rocks, not far from the island, are out of water. The deepest water is on the south side.

The town or settlement is one mile and a quarter in length, and of a very irregular figure, being in no place half a mile wide, and in the centre, it is not more than a quarter of a mile from North to South river. It does not occupy 300 acres, with its houses and gardens, if we exclude the lots near the neck, and above the town, towards the mill pond, and the lots upon Bridge-street, which is upon a tongue of land between Bass river and Shallop cove. The town lies nearly east and west, and with this line the North, and East, and Episcopal churches range. In 1678, the town had 85 houses in the township, and 300 polls. In 1732, it had 520 houses, 3008 inhabitants, and 1200 polls. In 1786, it had 730 houses, and by the census of 1790, 7921 inhabitants. By the continental valuation of 1799, it had 930 dwelling-houses, 645 out-houses, and 399 shops and stores. The increase of inhabitants is great since the census of 1790. The town is divided into four wards, two above and two below the court-house, lying on each side of Essex-street, which passes through the town. In ward 1, lying in the easterly part of the town, and upon South river, are 240 houses, 138 out-houses, 136 shops and stores, and 29 wharves. The whole number of wharves is 36. There are 56 streets in the town, for such are all the passages called, as there are no very narrow lanes, and no public alleys.

In entering the town from Boston, over Town bridge, we enter Bolton-street, which communicates with Essex-street, and this is the main street, and the only street which passes through the whole length of the town. Essex-street is of great, but irregular width, till we reach the first pavement, between North and Court streets. This was the first pavement made in the town, and it was finished in 1773, being 740 feet in length, and nearly 60 in width. Below Court-street, in Essex-street, another pavement

pavement was finished in 1792, of 3120 feet in length. And in 1799 a pavement was made in Neptune-street, and in Liberty-street. These are all the pavements at present in the town. In Essex-street are the principal houses of the town, and the first and second churches, and formerly the court-house stood in it.

The other streets, which are nearly parallel with Essex-street, are Federal-street, on North river, from Boston-street to North-street. This is the most straight street in town, is of more equal width, and it has a beautiful range of houses on its northern side. The other streets below North-street, passing eastward, are irregular.

Lynde and Marlborough streets go from North-street into Court-street. Church and County streets from Court-street into St. Peter's-street. And Brown's-street towards the Common.

On South river, towards the harbour, is Derby-street, which passes from Union wharf to the neck, and has been lately added to the town. The passage from Union wharf, into the western part of the town, is by Neptune-street to Vine-street, and from Vine-street to Charter-street, and then into Market-street. Or by the wharves, in Water-street and Fish-street, into Market-street. From Market-street, through Front and Short streets into Washington-street, so called from the place where Washington was received in Salem, and opposite to Court-street. There is then Norman-street in passing from Washington to Summer street opposite to North-street. From Norman-street is Mill-street, and from Mill-street we pass in High-street to Summer-street. From Summer-street we pass by Pickering-street to the pastures, and below by Chestnut-street to Flint-street. As we enter the town from Boston through Essex-street, we first find Flint-street, leading into Pickering-street; and Cambridge-street, leading into Pickering-street, near the duck factory; and then Dean-street, crossing Federal-street, towards North river. Then Bickford-street, crossing Federal-street, towards North river. Parallel to Bickford-street, and running from Federal-street, westward of it, is Lynn-street, and between them, parallel to Federal-street, are Andover-street, and below, on North river, River-street.

Beyond

Beyond Bickford-street is North-street, opposite to Summer-street, and leading to North bridge. Summer-street is spacious, and rises to the top of Mill hill. We then pass Court-street, which runs to North river, and Washington, which goes towards South river. Below Court-street is Market-street, which goes towards South river, and beyond is St. Peter's-street, which goes to North river. Below is Liberty-street, lately paved, and leading from Essex-street to the wharves. Then is Elm-street, leading to Water-street, and Walnut-street, leading to Neptune-street. On the western side of the Common, from Essex-street, is Newbury-street, leading into Brown-street, and then into Winter-street, and from Winter-street into Bridge-street, and to Essex bridge. The Common is uninclosed land, left for public use, when the final settlement of the commoners was made. From Essex-street, Union-street leads to Union wharf, Herbert-street into Derby-street, Curtis-street into Derby-street, Orange-street into Derby-street; and going eastward still, Daniel-street, Hardy-street, and Turner-street, passing Derby-street into South river, or the harbour. Becket-street passes from Essex-street into Derby-street, and then Blaney's-street goes below it. Then English and Ingersoll streets go into Derby-street from Essex-street. Below the Common, Pleasant-street passes from Essex-street into Bridge-street, and East-street passes from Pleasant-street into Essex-street. Williams-street passes from Brown-street, on the Common, to North river, and Locust-street from Bridge-street to North river.

The new court-house, erected in 1785, is the first building, which engages notice. It stands near North river, at the north end of Court-street, and is viewed from Essex-street. It has a plain Tuscan portico, with a balustrade, surmounted by a pediment supported in the Ionic order. Its smallest front is to the town, to conform to the street. The lantern assists the appearance of the house, which is of brick. In this building the courts of justice are held, and the business of the town transacted.

The first quarter court was held in Salem in 1636, and the twenty-second in 1641. After 1660, this court was also held at Ipswich. In 1692 are the first records of general

eral sessions apart from the county court. The town repaired the court-house till 1699, and then half of the expense was defrayed by the county. In 1719, the court-house was ordered, which stood near the first church, and which was taken down in 1785.

The prison is a wooden building, in County-street, of three stories. The first was built in 1663, and £.50 allowed by the county. A new one was raised in 1684, and in 1688 orders were given to add an house of correction, but not till 1722 were the orders regarded, and then the house of correction was provided for in the prison. The prison has had great repairs and great additions.

The churches in Salem are of wood. The old church is constructed with two galleries, was built in 1718, and has been lately decently repaired. It stands on the south side of Essex-street, near to Court-street. An unfinished building, of one story, was used occasionally for public worship in Salem, from 1629 to 1634. A proper house was then erected by Mr. Norton, who was to have £.100 sterling for it. The old church now stands upon the same spot. The house was rebuilt in 1671, to be 60 feet by 50, not to cost above £.1000 currency.

The second church, in Essex-street, and in the eastern part of the town, was first built in 1718, has been enlarged, and has, as well as the first church, a steeple. There are no other steeples in the town. The north meeting-house was built in 1773, after a separation from the old church, and is a handsome building, with a cupola. The first and second churches have public clocks.

The Tabernacle church was built in Court-street, on the corner of Marlborough-street, and near the court-house, after their first house, erected in Essex-street in 1735, had been burnt in 1774. It is a large building, in imitation of the Tabernacle, erected in London, by the friends of Mr. Whitefield. The third church was formed from a public building in Cambridge-street. The English church stands in St. Peter's-street, which has the name of the church, and fronts Church-street, coming from Court-street. It was built in 1733, and has been enlarged. The Friends have a decent house of worship on the north side of Essex-street, near its entrance.

Schools

Schools were established very early, and occasional buildings employed. In 1759 was the proposal for a new and convenient school-house, and a brick building of two stories, with a cupola, was erected, and was demolished to give place to the new court-house in 1785. The school-houses are plain wooden buildings. The school-house in the center of the town, below the court-house, and near North river, is of two stories, to accommodate a grammar as well as writing school. The eastern school-house, on the Common, has a belfry; and the western school-house is on North river, in Dean-street.

The town early felt the need of an alms-house; and at length a work and alms house was built in 1713, but in 1720 was leased as a dwelling-house by the town. In 1745 it was again applied to the public use, and in 1747 repaired. In 1749 a master was appointed, and in 1768 it was enlarged. It stands in Summer-street, and still belongs to the town. In 1770, the new work and alms house was erected, on the north part of the Common, and has been considerably enlarged. It is a large, plain, wooden building, and under good regulations.

In 1747 a pest-house was built upon the N. W. point of the neck, which is now standing, and, like the old alms-house, is employed for such poor as require only house rent from the town. In 1773 a hospital was built in the Great pasture, particularly for inoculation in the small-pox, by the consent of the town; and in 1798 it was purchased by the town. It has two wooden buildings, of two stories, disposed so as to accommodate the one with a south, and the other with a western front, and to inclose two sides of a square. The hospital is one mile westward of Marblehead lower road.

The health-house was erected in 1799, on the N. E. point of the neck, for the convenience of vessels coming from foreign ports, in all cases of infection.

In the town there are three large ropewalks, besides many places employed in small cordage, a duck manufactory, four distilleries, and other buildings for manufactories, which are rather to be noticed in the history of the arts and trade.

A handsome building was erected for a market-house at

at the bottom of Market-street, and over the South river, with every accommodation ; but no experiments could succeed, and it is now appropriated below for shops, and the hall above affords at present an assembly-room.

There is the same number of taverns in the town as was approved in 1681. The two taverns are the Ship, in Court-street, and the Sun, in Essex-street, opposite to Market-street. They are private buildings, improved only by an annual license, renewed at the pleasure of the county courts. There are many handsome houses, among which the new house of the late E. H. Derby, Esq. finished in 1799, is distinguished. It is of wood, but superior to any building in Essex. Its gardens reach to South river, and its decorations are superb. It fronts on Essex-street, in the center of the town, has an open yard, and combines, within and without, great convenience, with elegance.

The style of the town is not uniform. There are few brick buildings, and few to attract particular notice.—Some have lately been built, or raised to three stories, but the buildings are generally of two upright stories. The prevalent neatness attracts the notice of strangers, and forms an evident characteristic of Salem.

The wharves, in the rivers, are without water at a common ebb of the tide, and are built of wood, and sunken by rocks. There are no stone piers. The stores, which are built upon them, are convenient buildings, without ornaments, but often painted. Mr. Derby's wharf, in the eastern part of the town, is above 600 feet long. Union wharf, being above 400 feet long, is built upon Giggle's island, and there are piers raised on its sides in unequal length, at the direction of the proprietors, who hold in common the main pier, or string, as it is called.

The first fort was on Beverly side, and erected by Conant's men before Endicott arrived. It was called Darbie or Derby fort. In 1652, the town voted to build a fort on the S. E. point of Winter island, under the care of governor Endicott, W. Hathorne, and captain Traske ; and in 1652 the general court gave £. 100 towards it. In 1666 and 1667 the town expended upon it £. 320. In 1678 £. 254 were laid out in fortifications. In the last war, other fortifications were raised on Juniper point, or the
S. E.

S. E. point of the neck; and on the height of land above Beverly bar, fort Lee was built. These were suffered to decay. The fort on Winter island has been ceded to the United States, and is named "fort Pickering."

The best bridge is the Essex bridge, from Salem to Beverly, over Bass river. It was a long dispute, whether to obstruct the navigation of North river, as the distance was not much greater, into the centre of Salem, over Bass river, by Orne's point, in North-fields. A vote at length obtained, and a second bill in the house of representatives, in 1787. The bridge was begun by Mr. Cox, and the last pier raised 8th September, 1788, and it was passed on the 24th of September. From abutment to abutment it is 1484 feet long, and 32 feet broad, and consists of 93 piers. There are wharves constructed of piers on each side of the draw. It is altogether of wood.

Town bridge was built in 1647, at the entrance of the town from Boston, and is made of earth, of the width of the road, and secured with stone below, to receive the wash from the hills above it.

Mill bridge is over South river, and serves as a dam for the grist-mills, which are upon it.

Creek bridge is over the wash of a creek north of South river, and emptying into it. This creek ends at the foot of the height of land, over which Summer-street passes, between Norman and High streets, and has a court with several houses near the creek.

North bridge is upon North river, and passes from North-street to North-fields. It was repaired in 1796. It is constructed with a draw, and a causeway. Several wharves are on its eastern side. The whole length of the causeway and bridge is 860 feet. Essex bridge obstructs the navigation of this river. Its channel is narrow, and little trade is carried on, since the decay of the fishery.

The passage over Forest river, on the lower road to Marblehead, was on a narrow causeway of 200 feet in length, till it was made wider in 1798. The causeway and bridge are a dam to the grist-mills, which stand upon this river.

At the upper bridge, erected in 1648, the river is narrow, and the bridge and causeway are of stone, with a passage.

passage for the tide. The bridge and caufeway are covered with gravel.

In 1793, two piers were sunk below the wharves for the convenience of the shipping.

The aqueduct was undertaken early in 1797. The logs were bored by water works of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ground was opened in May, and the waters are conveyed from living springs, below Spring pond, through Danvers, and are led through the town of Salem.

Such is Salem. The general and well-directed industry, the integrity, and the economy of Salem are its glory. In no town, is private virtue more esteemed, family friendship more sincere, or the police more happy. Poverty has a home, merit a friend, and every civil office is filled more by persuasion, than ambition. Wealth has all its resources, and it has all its blessings. The rich do not corrupt the poor by luxury; and the few, who are poor, are too strongly allied to the rich by kindred, to separate from them. Manners are the same in all. Business is pleasure.

The social hours are in the family. Riches are without ostentation. Honest gains give every art respect; and he, who regards his employment with care and success, will be sure of the public confidence. No parties in the state disturb it, and its manners will always be favourable to subordination, while the laws triumph.

An inquiry into the settlement of Salem will not necessarily lead to examine the authority of the royal patent, granted to the Plymouth company, or to the dispute respecting its extent. The right of possession, in regard to particular natives of America, may be as unnecessary an inquiry, in regard to the matter of fact. The Indian deed, or, as it might be called, quitclaim, granted, at so late a year as 1686, to John Higginson, from the Indians of Chelmsford and Natick, and for a small consideration, could be nothing but an attempt to prevent future trouble, and must satisfy us that no proper settlement had been made by the consent of the Indians. For Salem, there is an apology, which is sufficient: The natives had forsaken this spot, before the English had reached it. On the soil, they found no natives, of whom we have any record. No natives

natives ever claimed it, and the possession was uninterrupted. Reverend John Higginson reports from tradition, that there had been an Indian town in North-fields, but no particular settlement, about the time of the infancy of the colony, appears. On several points of land, convenient for fishing, several graves have been found, which indicate the visits of the fishing Indians. But these are too few to agree with any settlements. Mr. Williams, who came to Salem, and settled within two years after Winthrop arrived, and who has given us the most early and best history of the Indians, does not mention them near Salem, and Gookin does not find them upon this spot. Williams speaks, as if the Indians, known to him, buried their dead, laying in their graves; but all the graves, which have been opened, shew that the dead were buried sitting at Neumkeage. No where have Indian names obtained, but English names were immediately adopted. These facts are sufficient to satisfy that no Indian claims were regarded, in the first settlement of Salem.

When Francis Higginson arrived in 1629, there were only six houses, besides that of governor Endicott, and these were not on the land now called Salem. The two hundred planters, who joined, settled upon the banks of North and Bafs river, and the branches, which communicate with them. A few were added in 1630, to supply the place of such as continued to remove westward, to the towns around Boston. Salem had a small proportion of such inhabitants as arrived in the first ships, and in 1632 had not more than forty families. But in 1633, when the inhabitants of the towns, in the vicinity of Boston, began to emigrate, such families as arrived at Salem were more easily persuaded to remain; and in 1634, Salem began to flourish; and in 1636, Endicott was able to go upon an expedition as far as Narraganset bay. Corn, which had been ten shillings in 1631, was in 1637 but at five shillings in winter, and the troops of Salem were then out in the Pequod war. In 1635, a plan for the fishery was adopted and pursued, and it greatly assisted the prosperity of the town. In 1636, they built at Marble harbour, then Salem, a vessel of 120 tons. This ship, called the *Desire*, was commanded by captain Pierce, who made the first

first almanack ever published in America. This he was induced to perform, after the arrival of Glover's printing-press, which was afterwards established at Cambridge. In 1640, in Salem, they built a ship of 300 tons, and in 1641 she was launched. Another ship of 200 tons was built in 1642, and 80 per cent. profit was made in this year. So great was the success, that, in commerce, Salem had no rival. Salem was now spoken of, as the proper seat of government; and as early as in 1636, they made a reserve of lands, upon the Marble harbour farms, for a college. This view of the early commerce of Salem is proper, to judge of the plan of settlement, and of the value of the lands. Successful commerce drew the inhabitants to the sea, and early care was taken that the wealth of commerce and of agriculture should not disagree. In settling lands, at first, the smallest families were entitled to ten-acre lots, with a reserve of such common lands for pasture as might accommodate them near their own houses. The road to the meeting-house was the first which had their common labour. Every farm was under the expense of the highway, which passed it, and no trees felled upon the commons, or uninclosed lands, could be suffered to lay as an impediment. In 1635, they began to ascertain and record bounds. Such as petitioned for farms, obtained them upon condition of selling their houses in town, to accommodate more easily all who came for trade; and the refusal of the farm was reserved to the town, if ever it was to be sold. Unless they sold their houses in town, the lands were only leased for a term not exceeding three years. As the town held much common land, they could offer such inducements as could draw new and rich settlers. Such men as found the best grounds pre-occupied in other towns, could obtain great advantages in Salem. In 1637, they fully experienced that a division of the town into ten acres, was neither equal, nor beneficial to the town, and they began to calculate upon the value of the lands, and the prospects of the settlers. Subdivisions then obtained, and the tenure was often conditional, upon plowing the lands within a given time, or upon appropriating them to some useful purpose. In this manner the lands were cultivated in the neighbourhood,

hood, and in the town; the less useful gave place to the more industrious citizens. The principal farms still bear the names of their original proprietors, as do all parts of the town. Lands were now granted upon special conditions, such as of raising hemp, establishing salt works, providing tan-vats, and of encouraging the profitable arts. In all these grants the utmost caution was used to secure convenient roads, and to command all privileges upon the shores. On the waters near the navigation, the width of the lots was at first small, for the greater accommodation of trade, and always in a degree under the authority of the town. Salem, considered as within its present bounds, was first settled upon North river. Shallop cove, open to Beverly harbour, was then much employed. As the town increased, Winter harbour became better known, and then our forsaken point of rocks was covered with houses, stores, and the shops of artificers. Trade then travelled up South river, and the town was moved westward, while it had extended itself in every direction. The early disposition to hold the right of disposing of lands contributed much to its prosperity; and after the commencement of the eighteenth century, of the five thousand acres the town now possesses, not one thousand had become divided and private property.

As early as 1634, the settlers, who had left Salem for Agawam river, and not without opposition in the attempt, began a new town under the name of Ipswich. The town then adjoining, now called Wenham, followed their example in 1643. And Manchester, which lay between Wenham, Ipswich, and Salem, towards Cape-Ann, on the shore, became a town in 1645. In 1648, Salem consented that Marblehead should have separate town privileges; and by this event, they were deprived of a valuable part of their population. Topsfield became a town in 1650, but its bounds were with difficulty ascertained. In 1668, the first settlements on the Bass river side became a town, under the name of Beverly, having had a meeting-house in 1657; but Salem held Ryal's neck on the east side of Waliston's river, and north side of Bass river, till 1712, when it assisted to form the north parish in Beverly. Salem village continued almost a century longer than Beverly in alliance with its parent town. It

had a meeting-house, in 1672, and another parish, in 1710, and became a town, in 1757. This last separation reduced Salem to its present boundaries.

In 1642, Salem began to experience a check to its prosperity. It lost much by the absence of the best friend of its commerce, Mr. Peters. It had powerful rivals of its agriculture, on the farms of Ipswich. Marblehead was superior in the fishery, and claimed to be incorporated. Gloucester, Manchester, and the whole eastern shore of Massachusetts, enjoyed a full share of the fishery. Besides, all hopes were now renounced, that Salem would become the capital of New-England, which had been a favourite object. The college had been placed in the neighbourhood of Boston, and Boston had learnt to improve all the advantages, by which it had become the most flourishing town in New-England. Salem was reduced to narrow boundaries by the towns, which divided its ancient territory, and these towns were able to become its rivals. In the loss of captain Gardner, and of captain Lathrop, and of the flower of Essex, in the war of 1675, it suffered greatly. A real calamity arose from the unhappy trials for witchcraft, in 1692, which were encouraged in its courts, and by which it lost, in one year, a quarter of its whole population. At length, in 1695, deprived of Beverly, it did not pay, in taxes, but two-thirds of the sum assessed upon Ipswich, which, besides its fishery, and trade upon its rivers, held an extensive tract of excellent country. To add to its calamities, in 1698, it suffered a loss of £.5,000 by a fire, which broke out in the most crowded part of the town. Salem still had its resources in its economy, which it could command in all circumstances. For many years the expenses of the town were below the taxes paid to the colony. Severe economy retrieved its affairs. Salem recovered from every calamity, and rose superior to all the obstructions of its prosperity. In 1732 it contained 5000 souls. It had wealth fully equal to its population, and could fear no comparison with any town in America, in regard to the best ends of civil society.

In 1663, it had been determined that grants of land should no longer be made by the selectmen, but in town-meeting. This was a popular measure to command the lands

lands under pretence of assisting the population. But under this resolution, encroachments were never prevented, as they who held the power, committed them. The evils were not intolerable; while the population had decreased; but upon the return of prosperity, the value of lands returned, and the bounds and titles of land were more necessary. To recover the ancient privileges of the town officers was impracticable, the tenure of the property must be changed. In 1713 came on the final adjustment. The cottagers would not agree with the commoners. Agreeably then to the law of cottages in the 4th of William and Mary, and the province act of 1661, and the vote of the town in 1702, the town proceeded to settle all claims. They assigned as a training field, what is now called the Common, between Newbury and Pleasant streets. They fixed for town use, and in the right of the town, all highways, burying places, and common lands within Town bridge. They reserved the block-houses for the use of the town forever. They reserved sixty acres for the poor. For all families living in the town, and not privileged in common lands, they reserved for the pasture of cows, under the care of the selectmen, three acres. They reserved Winter island for the fishery, and twenty acres were reserved for the ministers of the churches, then formed, and their successors in office. All dwelling-houses had their rights established, and the respective claims of all parts of the township were decided. A committee from five towns were to settle conclusively, by their report, all lands in dispute between Salem and any other town; and the business was accomplished. From Town bridge to Strong-water brook, lots were to be laid out upon the highway, not larger than one half of an acre, and the road was to be five poles broad. All who should purchase them, were to be obliged to build upon them within three years. From the Butt brook to Strong-water brook bridge, the lands reserved from the commons to be sold in lots, upon the great road, were to be disposed of by the purchasers at their own discretion. The event has been happy.

The police of Salem was rather from experience than system, When Endicott arrived, he was directed to invest

vest thirteen persons with the government of the plantation, and the persons were named. It does not appear that such a government was ever established in the town, but thirteen was afterwards the given number of town representatives in the general court at Boston. The neglect did not arise from opposition to the patent, but from want of mutual confidence, and the unexpected cares of settlement, as well as from regard to the English planters, already at Salem with Mr. Conant, and from the expectation of other planters from England. In the first year, they found that they could not hold their servants, of whom there was a great number, and that they were obliged to consent to the liberty their servants claimed. The freemen then chose all officers, even a governor.

In 1631, a test was invented, which required all freemen to be church members. This was upon the first appearance of a dissent in regard to religious opinions. But even this test, in the public opinion, required great caution, as in 1632, it was agreed that a civil magistrate should not be an elder in the church. In 1635, a committee was appointed to act in town affairs, and it was directed that town orders should be published after the meetings of the freemen. In 1637, twelve men were provided for the business of the town, and a clerk was appointed to attend them, and to record all transactions. In 1639, there were other regulations. A town-meeting should require a day's warning, and six persons must be present above an hour at such meeting. A constable also was appointed, and to be paid. In 1647, agents were appointed to settle town affairs, and surveyors were chosen and paid for labour on the highways. In 1649, the warning of town-meetings was to be on lecture-day; and in 1651 a man was appointed to notify all the inhabitants. In 1654, a fine was to be paid for non-attendance on town-meetings, especially on colonial affairs, in general town-meetings, which were distinguished from those of the seven, or selectmen, which usually came after them. Affairs thus insensibly changed into that form, which is now retained in the laws. In 1668, the following charge was given to the selectmen. 1. To regard the county laws. 2. Not to sell or exchange any lands belonging to

to the town, without the leave of the town. 3. Not to raise any money, or make rates, without a vote of the town. 4. Not to contract any debts, unless for the support of the poor. And, 5. To provide proper pastures for the accommodation of the inhabitants. In 1695, it was agreed that all things to be discussed in town-meetings should be inscribed in a town warrant; and all petitions for lands should be specified. In 1681, leave could not be obtained that any part of the town should have liberty to give orders, without the approbation of the town.

The first services of the town-officers were rewarded in lands. In 1639, the constable's fee for collecting rates was a penny upon every pound. In 1695, the town treasurer was to have six pence per cent. on all monies, and in 1699, the town clerk was to have £.5 per annum, and the benefit of the records, wheat being then at $\frac{5}{6}$ per bushel. The occasional services were paid at the usual price of labour, whenever payment was required. Men of the first characters occasionally advised on town affairs, and held offices, but the actual duty devolved on faithful, but less wealthy citizens. In the infancy of the town, the services of Mr. Jeffry Maffey were of great value, in surveying lands, keeping and copying records, and in retaining the memory of all transactions. His son John was the first-born of Massachusetts. The town book, which Jeffry Maffey wrote till 1654, is the best part of our records. The cradle, in which his son John was nursed, is in the care of the Historical Society.*

Charity and economy began together in Salem, and as they were nursed, so they have grown up together. The pressing wants, which at first afflicted them, united these virtues. Governor Winthrop, at his arrival, made an equal distribution of the common stock, under circumstances encouraging to the poorer planters. When an inequality of condition was not only felt but fixed, care was taken that poverty should not be an inheritance, and in 1647, the children of the poor were put under masters, and into good families by the town. That the poor should not multiply, whose habits were obstinate, great care was taken that no strangers, or unknown foreigners, should intrude upon the settlement, and that the selectmen should

* Vid. Appendix No. II.

license all who were permitted to tarry in town. No place was ever more free from foreigners of this description. This resolution, adopted in 1657, was in full force in 1695 and in 1700, and has been characteristic of the policy of Salem. Few strangers enter, who are not recommended by their industry, and few become a burden upon the town. Upon the complaints of the poor, lands, and other means, have been found, to employ their labour. In 1707, a proposal was made for an alms-house, and it obtained in 1719. The pest-house in 1747, and the hospital in 1773, were not works of charity, but were principally provided against the small-pox. In 1749, the regulations of Boston alms-house were accepted, but the charities were directed by the present convenience till 1770. In 1772, the following rules were adopted in the house, which is now sacred to charity.

1. The overseers are to meet once in every month.
2. One of them to visit weekly.
3. The master of the house is to be appointed annually by the overseers.
4. A register of the house is to be kept by the master for inspection.
5. The gate is to be kept, so that nothing can pass but by permission.
6. The house is to be shut at 10 o'clock in summer, and at 9 in winter.
7. The mistress to inspect the food and clothing, and to attend to the cleanliness and conveniences of the house.
8. The master to purchase provisions, materials for employment, and necessaries, as directed.
9. A book of accounts to be kept by the master, containing an inventory of all articles belonging to the house, a statement of all expenses, and an account of all stock and labour.
10. The overseers shall admit persons into the house, and they only.
11. They shall have a right to examine, to cleanse, and direct, at their own discretion.
12. They shall command to apartments, and assign them.
13. Shall direct the hours for the meals, and of what such meals shall consist.
14. Shall take care for the instruction, especially of the children.
15. Shall prevent all idleness.
16. Shall permit all labour, which exceeds the expense of support, to go to the poor families of persons in the house.
17. Shall judge of all misbehaviour.
18. Shall give the well behaved a part of the profit of their labour.
19. The physician shall judge of all excuses from labour.
20. No person

person shall beg, or go abroad without leave. 21. No one shall smoke in bed. 22. All punishments shall be by clogs and confinement. 23. These rules shall be read.

In 1776, there were 120 poor in the house, and 50 assisted out of it. The number of the poor in 1800 does not exceed that of 1776. The public charities are defrayed by the votes of the town. No funds have been established, or large donations received. The town have reserved a pasture, and the family of Browne followed the example of their worthy ancestors, who, by will, gave £.50, in 1688. Occasional contributions were encouraged in the religious assembly, and in 1680, two selectmen were appointed to join the deacons in the distribution. But such contributions were not fixed at Fasts and Thanksgivings till after 1703. When different religious societies were formed, these charities were appropriated to the special use of the respective assemblies, in which they were raised. The poor are well supported in Salem, when unfit for labour, and experience every care, which can lessen the evils of honest poverty.

Other charitable institutions and associations have increased, which indirectly encourage an attention to the wants of men in different conditions of life. There are several Fire Clubs. A Marine Society was formed in 1766, which has funds, real estate, and above one hundred members. The East-India Marine Society was formed in 1799. A lodge of masons was opened in 1779, and several friendly clubs have obtained. All these institutions have happily prevented the frequent occasions for public charity, and have answered the demands for that seasonable aid, which prevents distress from the necessity of publishing its evils. They have aided more the active, than the social character. They assist business, rather than pleasure. Economy calls on charity, and charity performs every good office, while she is not lavish of her stores. Charity is the friend of industry and virtue.

Of schools, Salem will deserve the praise of leading in the establishment. In 1637, Mr. John Fiske arrived. He was born in 1601, and descended from a family which early embraced the protestant cause. He was educated at Cambridge in England. He was possessed of a large property,

perty, of which he made large loans to the province, after his arrival in America. He tarried at Salem four years, and prepared for the college in Cambridge, New-England, Sir George Downing, a graduate in 1642, the first year in which academic honours were conferred in British America. Sir George Downing was at first a chaplain in the army, and afterwards became proverbial for his politics under Cromwell and Charles II. and in the affairs of Holland. He died in 1684. Among his other pupils was Edward Norris, the son of the minister in Salem, who succeeded him. Mr. Fiske was frequently in the pulpit in Salem, and in 1644 was pastor of a part of Salem, called Enon, since Wenham. But not preferring the soil, in 1656, he persuaded the greater part of his people to remove with him to the confluence of the Merrimac and Concord, now called Chelmsford; and he was, in this place, their pastor twenty years. He died in 1676. His son Moses, who graduated at Cambridge in 1662, was minister of Braintree, formerly part of Boston; and his grandson Samuel, who graduated in 1708, was afterwards minister in Salem. John, the son of the minister of Salem, and the great grandson of him whose name he bore, will deserve a place among the first citizens of Salem. Mr. Edward Norris succeeded John Fiske in the grammar-school of Salem in 1640, and continued in the character till 1682, and died in 1684, aged 70. He possessed an amiable disposition. In 1682, he was succeeded by Daniel Epes, who graduated at Cambridge in 1669, and continued as a school-master till 1698. He was a magistrate, and a counsellor for seven years. He died in 1722, aged 73. In 1699, he was succeeded by Samuel Whitman, who graduated in 1696, and afterwards settled in the ministry. Mr. Whitman continued but for a few months, and was succeeded by Mr. John Emerson, who graduated in 1689, and had been in the ministry. He continued in the office till he died, in 1712. The grammar-school was then supplied by Mr. Obadiah Ayres, who graduated in 1710, till Mr. John Nutting, of Cambridge, who graduated in 1712, was appointed in 1718. Mr. Nutting continued till 1749, and then was a magistrate, and in the customs. For several years he was the oldest man in the catalogue.

He

He was able to visit and to converse with his neighbours till he died, 20th May, 1790, in the 96th year of his age. After Mr. Nutting's death, the school afforded a temporary support to many young men, who accepted plans of life more pleasing to their ambition, perhaps not more useful to mankind.

Among the appropriations for the school, in 1697, we find that Baker's island (so called from Mr. Baker, the ship-carpenter) was rented to John Turner for £.3 annually, and the two Misery islands, for the same sum, to G. Curwin, and the income of Beverly ferry was applied to assist in the support of the grammar-school. In 1680, Mr. Norris was allowed £.15, as was Mr. Epes in 1682. In 1680 there was a subscription in town for the college at Cambridge, and in 1681 provision made for the education of the children in the village. In 1699, it was provided that the children of the grammar-school should pay twelve shillings annually, and there were then twenty scholars. To secure proper respect to the schoolmaster, in placing the families in the meeting-house, the wife of the grammar schoolmaster was to be accommodated in the pew next to the wives of the magistrates. In 1700, a sum was given to encourage a writing-school; and in 1712 the deficient rents were to be made up by the scholars. In 1713, Mr. Francis Drake was schoolmaster for mathematics; and in 1723, a bell came for the school from England. In 1727, John Gerrish was writing master. In 1729, colonel Samuel Browne gave £.120 to the grammar school, £.60 to the writing school, and £.60 to a woman's school; and honourable Benjamin Lynde gave £.20 to the grammar school. In 1743, both schools were put under one master and usher, but they were again separated in 1752. In 1753, the school committee was chosen to be a distinct body from the selectmen; and in 1760 was given the plan of the new brick school-house, which was taken down when the new court-house was built. In 1785, was another and the present establishment of one grammar and three public writing schools. There are as many private as public schools, and an equal number for the best instruction of females. Females are also instructed in the public schools, after the usual school terms for the males, for six months in the year,

at the public expence. At one visitation of the public schools, the number of males on the list was 486, exclusively of the females.

The colonists were from England; the history of their religion is therefore to be sought in that country. Mr. Francis Higginson arrived in Salem on 29th June, 1729. He was the son of a non-conformist minister in Leicestershire. He found Mr. Endicott at Salem, who had explained his intentions to the church already formed in Plymouth. Two articles were fixed by consent. That the church at Salem should not acknowledge any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the church at Plymouth, if any assistance should be given at Salem; and that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, as in the protestant churches, but, as in the unqualified sense of the reformed churches, should depend entirely upon the free election of the members of the church, and that there should be a representative of this power continually in the church. Mr. Higginson consented, and a day of religious preparation was appointed on 20th July. The public sense of these articles was then taken, for the establishment of a church. The consent was not unanimous, but the objections were not purely religious. The family of Browne led in the opposition. They had not adventured in the common stock, and disgust had arisen upon the voyage. The protection of the English laws, which they claimed, and which they understood, had no authority with the new colony. Endicott complains of the early opposition in the planters to every thing, which was contrary to their present convenience. The new church virtually disclaimed the authority of the church of England. The Brownes encouraged a separation; but no protest, or separation, could discourage the majority. The character of their elder, and of their pastor and teacher being defined, on the 6th of August, 1729, in the presence of the Plymouth delegates, who arrived during the solemnities, the elder as the representative of the people, having been qualified, as they directed, laid on hands. The right hand of fellowship, a Roman custom, was continued as a pledge of the mutual friendship of the churches.

In the choice of an elder to rule in the church, care was

was taken not to accept a civil officer, and elder Houghton was appointed. He was a man of inoffensive ambition, and died in the next year after his appointment. Mr. Samuel Sharpe succeeded him, but he was frequently absent, and never possessed even the shadow of power. He died in 1658. The independence of Mr. Williams, and the sovereignty of Mr. Peters, rendered the office useless in their time, and it never obtained its influence. When Mr. John Higginson, the son, in 1660, returned to Salem, and attempted to revive the form of government, which his father had adopted, Mr. John Browne was elected elder, but we find no other services but of attending, for a short time, the private instructions of the pastor, who had secured all the power. The office never existed but in name, and did not survive the first generation.— The titles of pastor and teacher were distinct at ordination, but age gave the only privileges which are found to have existed. A covenant,* or religious obligation, was formed, and publicly signed, at the institution of the church, and it is recorded in every history of New-England. It may be esteemed, if not for its theology, for its simplicity. If it speak not the language of a sect, it breathes the spirit of christian union. It never could be intended so much to display opinions, as by written obligation to fasten men together. It is the inartificial range of thought, forgetting the eyes of posterity, and without polemic, or scholastic refinement. It was more an act of piety, than of study. And it was recollected afterwards more from devotion and patriotism, than religious prejudice. It did all the good, which was intended, and from its peculiar character it could not live for the purposes of superstition. It was revived and signed again in 1660, when Mr. John Higginson was established in Salem, rather as a grateful memorial, than as an innovation upon any practices, which had obtained. Had its spirit been regarded, an attempt would not have been made to change the language of reproof, in general, into an unmanly invective against a particular denomination of christians. But the abuse of this instrument consigned it to the sole care of the historian, who has preserved it for us, as a precious relick of antiquity.

* Vid. Appendix, No. IV.

Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton are the pastor and teacher belonging to Salem church. From other places, we hear of the ministers who arrived, but did not live in Salem. Mr. Higginson's doctrines were mild. While he freely adopted the common language of divines in his own age, he did not insist upon such distinctions as embitter and divide. His discipline was formed upon the manners of the people; and if severe to us, could not have been severe to them. As it was a guard upon morals, it was safe. He died on 15th March, 1630. He was grave in his deportment, and pure in his morals. In person he was slender, not tall: not easily changed from his purposes, but not rash in declaring them. He held the hearts of his people, and his memory was dear to their posterity. The eagerness, with which they embraced an opportunity to fix his son, thirty years afterwards, in the same church, and the renewal of his covenant, are full evidence of their sincere affections. He left a widow and eight children. Two sons were educated. John was born at Claybrook, Leicestershire, England, 6th August, 1616, and was seventy years in the ministry, and died in Salem. Francis was a minister in Westmoreland, England, and died about the time his brother John settled in Salem, in 1660, above 50 years of age. Mr. Francis Higginson gave a general account of Salem, which the Historical Society has preserved among its papers. He did not live long enough to receive correct information, or to explore the country around him. His isle of slate, and his marble, and his three miles of good soil without trees, his reports of lions, have diminished in the value he would teach us to assign to them, or have never appeared. The account of the fish is just, as all he mentions yet visit our shores, though not in equal plenty. The salt works did not succeed after many attempts. But his account has as many truths as are to be found from the narratives of unexplored countries. He lived to secure the foundation of his church, to deserve the esteem of the colony, and to provide himself a name among the worthies of New-England. When he died, he left in the colony the most sacred guards upon the public manners. Cards, dice, and all such amusements, had no share of favour. Family devotions were inculcated

inculcated and established, and the most constant attendance on public worship. The ministers visited families to assist in their devotions. Constant care of the poor was required; the Indians were not permitted to trade in private houses; all the inhabitants were instructed to unite in the labours, which promoted their common interest; and the greatest confidence was required in all, who were appointed in civil trusts. Mr. Skelton survived him. He had been appointed, as the minister to whom Mr. Endicott had been indebted for his religious instruction in early life, and for whom he had a sincere friendship. By real favours, Mr. Endicott had gained a great influence over him. A state of health also, ever uncertain, had favoured a natural propensity to reserved manners, very different from the early deportment of Higginson. Posterity have been candid enough to charge all his errors to Endicott. Endicott had been the cause of all the rash proceedings against the Brownes. He was determined to execute his plan of church government. Unexperienced in the passions of men, and unaccustomed to consult even his friends, he was resolved to admit no oppositions. They, who could not be terrified into silence, were not commanded to withdraw, but they were seized and transported as criminals. The fear of injury to the colony induced its friends in England to give private satisfaction, and then to write a reproof to him, who had been the cause of such outrages, and Endicott never recovered his reputation in England. Not a year had elapsed from the death of Higginson, when Mr. Roger Williams arrived in the colony on 5th February, 1631. He was embraced with joy at Salem, and throughout all his life, supported a high place in their affections, as a truly godly man. Before his arrival, Endicott had embraced the doctrine of veils for the women in the church; and if he worshipped in the beauty of holiness, he was determined that human beauty should form no part of his pleasure. An assembly from various parts of England, produced a great variety in the appearance of the people. Men are as abhorrent of the customs of each other, as of the opinions they find in the world. A uniformity of dress might be favourable to a uniformity of manners, but

but though encouraged, could not be enforced. The veils might produce the best effect on the public solemnities, and be liable to no serious objections. Endicott's heart was upon the practice. This zeal for a false modesty, which has been betrayed in many infant sects, and has been established in the forms of many prevalent religions, seized this good father of the colony, now confined to good offices in his own neighbourhood. The practice had been so common, that it would have been innocent, had it only been recommended, and not enjoined. But authority was more powerful than truth. Mr. Williams did not refuse his assent to the practice, provided he should not be obliged to enforce the injunction. This office, painful to him, was the choice of Mr. Skelton.—The example of Skelton was followed soon by Mr. Endicott in a more serious affair. Mr. Williams had not only blamed private customs, but the public administration of the government. He blamed, yet he did not oppose it. He disapproved the connexion of the churches in Old and New England; yet he was prudent enough not to offer violence to the established forms. But all his hearers could not make the same distinctions. Endicott ventured to apply his doctrine, and cut the cross from the military standard. Endicott did it without advice; but the resentment of the magistrate spent itself upon Williams, who, though the innocent, was the real cause of it.

Mr. Williams, whom they received upon his arrival in February, became their minister on the 12th of April. Embittered by the controversy of the puritans in England, he had expressed himself with great warmth upon the language of affection to the church of England, which was still heard in America. He considered the event in the settlement of America as the separation almost of worlds. Nothing that reminded him of political connexion, pleased him. The patent, the freeman's oath, the power of the magistrate in religion, and the laws for the worship of God, were all derived, in his judgment, from the errors of the country they had forsaken. He could be persuaded, but not compelled, to renounce his opinions. Persecution, instead of calm expostulation, instantly commenced, and Williams, before the close of summer, was obliged

obliged to retire to Plymouth. He there occasionally assisted Mr. Ralph Smith, their pastor, and inspired the same convictions of his piety, but he still fixed his eyes upon Salem, where he had received proofs of undissembled friendship. On the next year, he had an opportunity, in August, of joining in the communion of the church at Plymouth with governor Winthrop, who had uniformly opposed him, and before the close of 1632 he was again in Salem. A child was born to him at Salem in August, 1633, but he retained a private character without any offence. Mr. Skelton's sickness gave him an opportunity to renew his public labours in the pulpit, for the pastoral relation had not been dissolved; and before 1633 was finished, his former difficulties returned. On this occasion, he displayed real modesty. He declared that the books, which gave the offence, had been written only to gratify some select friends, and that he would burn them with his own hands, if such an act could quiet the public fears. Cotton, the minister at Boston, a pious man, but fond enough of being dictator, was honest to confess that such a concession was sufficient, and that if he would take the oath of allegiance, the guilt might be forgiven. Williams then had rest, till the death of Mr. Skelton, 2d August, 1634. Mr. Skelton, the friend of Endicott, died when his benefactor was out of favour. No particular records were kept of his services. He was more advanced in life than Mr. Higginson. He was a rigid disciplinarian, but inclined to the utmost equality of privileges in church and state. His opinions made him no personal enemies; but as he never acted alone, he yielded to others all the praise of his best actions.

Mr. Williams was now at the head of the Salem church. Mr. Winthrop, by the public voice, had been removed from the chair of the governor, and Mr. Williams hoped the public opinion would be more favourable to him. His friends now joined him from Plymouth, and Salem began to enjoy unrivalled prosperity, and to entertain the proudest hopes. Unfortunately for Mr. Williams, the apostle Eliot, immortal by his services in the conversion of the Indians, had taken liberty to speak against the Indian treaty, though being brought to confess before the magistrate,

magistrate, he published afterwards his recantation. Williams had observed, how unwilling the magistrates of Boston were, from jealousy, to grant the claims of Salem to lands, which they intended to appropriate to public uses, and he now thought himself safe in joining in a remonstrance with the unanimous voice of the town. He forgot what had passed to incense the ministers against him. Mr. Skelton and Williams did not view with indifference the frequent meetings of the ministers; and Williams did not appear at their tribunal, even under the authority of a magistrate, without disgust. But what he suppressed, Skelton freely declared, and both of them dreaded a power, of which they expected to be the victims. Skelton thought he foresaw the power of Presbyteries, and he had spirit to express a fear of it, though exercised under another name. Competition had an ample share in Williams's troubles, and his opinions were oftener repeated to lessen his influence, than to reform him. Skelton and Williams sought opportunities to retaliate upon the churches, which so freely remonstrated against their errors. They admitted the justice of some accusations, that they might require the same confessions. The church under their care justified them. The anathemas in turn would soon have created violence, had Cotton's advice to decide by ecclesiastical censures been accepted. But the magistrates refused a remedy so uncertain, when they had an effectual remedy in their power. These contentions were not without their evils upon the government, and three new governors in each succeeding year were elected to remove an evil, which they falsely imputed to Winthrop's mild administration. It so happened, while every opportunity was sought to remove Williams, that he was sick, and being unable to perform the duties of his pulpit, the old controversy of communion was revived. His opinions were again demanded, and his answers were not employed for the most generous purposes. Every hateful tale was reported. He had asked, whether it was not absurd to give an oath to a man, whom the church, by exclusion, had declared to be a man of no religion; and this was to condemn the magistrate. He held some opinions in common with the Anabaptists, and this

this was the ground of a charge that he had fallen into all their errors, though there are no traditions or records of any divisions in regard to the mode and time of administering baptism. The Anabaptists were in the condition of their neighbours. Their theory of government did not enable them to find the point, at which civil and religious liberty meet. They did not consider, that theory might not determine this question. They struggled to fix it by power, and then they fixed it in favour of themselves. They all fell into the same error, and equally claim our forgiveness, excepting that sympathy may incline us to the injured and to the weakest. In short, Williams was declared to be opposed, not to men or measures, but to the authority of that power, under which the colony existed, and his existence in the colony was now judged insufferable. Williams was now, for the third time, under censure for the same offences. He could no longer enjoy his church, and therefore, with a few private friends, he retired to a separate worship. This was a separation against the laws. Besides, he had given intimations of an intended settlement at Narraganset. The popular opinion still remained kind towards him, and upon that account measures were taken to seize him privately, and to transport him; but he had friends to inform him, and he left the colony in January, 1636. The select friends, who joined him, were not of the Salem church, but united to him from sympathy, interest, and a love of that independence, at which they aspired. Mr. Williams would have appeared again in his own justification, but the privilege was denied to him. He had liberty to remain till spring; but this was only a snare laid for him. In September, 1635, before Mr. Williams left Salem, Mr. Peters arrived, and occasionally preached in Salem with great reputation, and he was suspected of an unkind influence upon the affairs of Mr. Williams.

In Salem, every person loved Mr. Williams. He had no personal enemies under any pretence. All valued his friendship. Kind treatment could win him, but opposition could not conquer him. He was not afraid to stand alone for truth against the world; and he had always address enough, with his firmness, never to be forsaken by

the friends he had ever gained. He had always a tenderness of conscience, and feared every offence against moral truth. He breathed the purest devotion. He was ready in thoughts and words, and defied all his vaunting adversaries to public disputation. He had a familiar imagery of style, which suited his times, and he indulged even in the titles of his controversial papers to wit upon names, especially upon the Quakers. He knew man, better than he did civil government. He was a friend of human nature, forgiving, upright, and pious. He understood the Indians better than any man of the age. He made not so many converts, but he made more sincere friends. He knew their passions, and the restraints they could endure. He was betrayed into no wild or expensive projects respecting them. He studied their manners and their customs and passions together. His vocabulary also proves that he was familiar with the words of their language, if not with its principles. It is an happy relief in contemplating so eccentric a character, that no sufferings induced any purposes of revenge, for which he afterwards had great opportunities; that great social virtues corrected the first errors of his opinions; and that he lived to exhibit to the natives, a noble example of generous goodness, and to be the parent of the independent state of Rhode-Island. He died in his colony, in 1683, in the 84th year of his age.

Respecting no man has the public opinion been more divided than Mr. Hugh Peters. The part he took in the Commonwealth of England, and in the death of king Charles, occasioned this division. That he was unfit to be joined with Shaftesbury and Rushworth, may be confessed. That he could not be ranked with Owen, Bates, or Howe. But a weak man could not maintain the popularity he gained, and an ignorant man could not execute what he undertook. He was born 1599, in Foy, in Cornwall. His father was a merchant. He was educated at Cambridge, in England, and was licensed by the bishop of London, and preached, with uncommon popularity, in the city. His independence soon raised him enemies, and he fled, as a non-conformist, to Holland. After six years, he came from Rotterdam to America. The subscription he raised for the Irish, in Holland, was great. Unkind reports

ports have been connected with the early part of his life, but they never reached, or had no influence in New-England. In September, 1635, he arrived in America. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says of his arrival, "this year came over that famous servant of Christ, Mr. Hugh Peters, whose courage was not inferior to any of the servants of Christ." This appears to have been the prevalent opinion. Having been accustomed to visit every part of a country, to which he went, he did not, as Mr. Williams, immediately accept the pastoral office. He visited all the settlements, and then settled in the Salem church, by agreement, on 21st day of December, 1636. He disclaimed all the errors of Mr. Williams, and in his zeal, as he tells Dorchester church, he excommunicated all his adherents upon the reports about them.* He interested himself in reforming the police of the town. He encouraged commerce, and brought some of the most wealthy men into the town. Emanuel Downing and John Humphries joined his church. Mr. William Browne came into the town from England, and William Harthorne from Dorchester. Salem never saw greater peace, prosperity, or increase, in so short a period. In the five years of his ministry, eighty male members joined his communion, and an equal number of females. In the town, the best regulations obtained. Lands were granted in just regard to their value, and to the purchasers; twelve men were appointed to direct the police, and the language of the town-business underwent an entire change. The arts were introduced. A water-mill was erected; a glass-house; salt works; the planting of hemp was encouraged, and a regular market was established. An almanack was introduced to direct their affairs. Commerce had unexampled glory. He formed the plan of the fishery, of the coasting voyages, of the foreign voyages; and among many other vessels, one of 300 tons was undertaken under his influence. He provided the carpenters, and entered largely into trade, with great success. In his church, he provided for quarterly contributions, and accepted of 200 acres of land in the North-fields, 20 acres of marsh near Endicott's, and 10 acres in the great marsh, and his farm still bears the name of Peters' neck.

* Might not this letter be referred to, in Hutch. vol. i. p. 321. 2d ed.

neck. Ever active and engaged in business, at home and abroad, he did not forget his church. He was the first to object to the unreasonable avocations from business, by the numerous weekly and occasional lectures, which he suppressed. He was open with Vane upon the necessity of uniting the ministers against the extravagant opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson, and he despised the uncertain conduct of Mr. Cotton. In the synod of 1637, he expressed his mind with freedom; and he had the greatest success in prevailing on Endicott to declare that he was satisfied with the proceedings of the synod. After this time, Endicott never engaged in any new scheme of doctrine or discipline in the church.

At an execution of a woman for the murder of a child, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, he indulged all his severity against the abuse of private revelations. By a character so well defined, he preserved his own church from the convulsions of the colony. Only three were tainted, and one of them, the son of a deputy, was soon recovered. This liberal behaviour excluded the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson and Cotton from any influence in Salem, and incurred the danger of an opposite extreme. A Mrs. Oliver, better informed, and of a more easy address than Mrs. Hutchinson, openly claimed her right to the communion without a covenant, and claimed it in the time of public service. She was committed to prison, but had her liberty after four days, upon the confession of her fault in disturbing the congregation. She did not retract her opinions; she still insisted, that all who professed the christian religion ought to be admitted without examination, except into their good behaviour. Not only was Mr. Peters employed in the duties of his pastoral office, but he interested himself in the establishment of the college, in 1639. He convinced the inhabitants of Salem, that the college would not be a great aid to their commerce. He interested himself in the restoration of governor Winthrop to the public favour, and the governor paid a just tribute to Mr. Peters's activity and public spirit.

In 1637, governor Winthrop was restored to the office of governor, and visited Salem. He found such cordial reception, that he visited the town again in 1638, and received

unusual

unusual public honours. The military ardour of Salem also awoke. Mr. Endicott was out in 1636, and in 1637, captain Traske was out in the Pequod war. Not only did Mr. Peters promote peace at home, but abroad. A traveller, in 1640, mentions this part of his character, and he was able to quiet the long troubles at Dover. Being frequently absent, he did not neglect the cares of his pulpit. Mr. John Fiske then resided in Salem, and assisted him in his pulpit. On 20th Dec. 1639, Mr. Edward Norris joined his church, and was on the next year ordained the teacher. In the same year, Francis Higginson, the son of the former minister, was a member of his church, but afterwards went and settled, in the ministry, in England.

As Mr. Hugh Peters was much engaged in trade, he knew all its embarrassments. As he had often done the business of the colony, and, as Winthrop says, with success, he was thought a proper person to return to England, and to represent the sense of the colony upon the laws of excise and trade. Such was the affection of his people, that every remonstrance appeared against the proposition. The court pressed, then solicited, and at length intreated, that he might be in the commission. The mercantile interest consented and approved, and Mr. Humphries pressed it. Mr. Endicott, who had less interest in trade, opposed with great warmth. At length it was agreed; and as it met the warmest wishes of Mr. Peters, he left the colony on the 3d of Aug. 1641.* To follow him into England, or to pronounce upon his conduct after his arrival, is no part of the present design. It was a melancholy separation to the people, and it was awful in its consequences to him, as he suffered among the regicides after the restoration. The whole appointment was by his own consent, and he never insinuated that any blame was due to the colony, or to any men in it. He continued to trade with Salem, and made great profit, and he was consulted upon all important occasions. He was not friendly to the charities for propagating the gospel among the Indians. He had no hopes of any success while in America. His opposition, though imputed to his pride, as he was not at first consulted in England, perfectly agrees with his opinions, when at Salem. No man ever possessed more sincerely the affections of his people. Mr.

* Vid. Appendix, No. V.

Mr. Hugh Peters, in his person, was tall and thin. He was active and sprightly. In speech, he was ready, but his language was peculiar to himself. He had a power of associating his thoughts in such a manner, as to be sure to leave them upon the memory. If his images were coarse, they were familiar, and never failed to answer his purposes. Wherever he went, whatever he said, it was sure to be remembered. This talent gave him his thousands at London, his fame in Holland, his success in raising monies every where. It gave him influence in America, and the power to command the people of every name, in defiance of a chaster eloquence employed against him, Colonel Lockhart, after a victory Mr. Peters gained in Ireland, said, he was a fit minister for soldiers. He preached the first sermon at Wenham, near Salem. He chose a small conical hill, near the pond. His text was, "At Enon, near Salim, because there was much water there." The town held the name till it was incorporated. It is still remembered, and Peters's hill is not yet forgotten. By this singular talent, he succeeded with the merchant and the divine, with the enthusiast in the state, and the church. By it he gained the favour of Cromwell. And by the success of it, he purchased the sentence of death upon the restoration. Specimens of his curious sermons are to be found in the trials of the regicides. A sermon before both houses, April, 1646, his "*last reports*," of the same year, his "*word for the army*," on the next year, and his "*short cut to quiet*," in 1651, were printed in London. His speech in the last is proverbial. In a revolution, "burn the whole, and begin anew." * His legacy to his daughter was kindly received by the public.—Whatever may be thought of him in the world, Salem ought to be grateful to him.

Mr. Edward Norris, who joined Salem church in 1639, and had been a minister in England, was ordained in a general meeting of the elders, and before a large concourse of people, as the teacher, on the 18th March, 1640. This is the first ordination, which was performed with great public ceremonies, in Salem. He received, upon his settlement, one hundred acres of upland, not far from Moulton's

* Cardinal de Retz expressed it, "Law cannot be reformed by Law."

ton's brook, and sixteen acres of meadow. He entered the church in the time of its greatest tranquillity and prosperity. Mr. Peters had led Mr. Endicott to oppose the errors of Mrs. Hutchinson; but the increase of his power did not add to his discretion. Mr. Endicott began to be as sovereign against all the sects, and as a magistrate did not bear his sword in vain. In 1643, Mrs. Oliver again openly declared her right to the communion, and the unlawful interference of the magistrate, and she was publicly disgraced. Some women also, of reputable families, were excommunicated. Persons addicted to the tenets of the Anabaptists were deprived of personal liberty, by being confined to town, or by being under severe prohibitions. The whole number did not exceed nine. Mr. Norris never appeared active in such proceedings; and the comparative tranquillity of the town, during his ministry, is an evidence of his moderation. The alarm against the Anabaptists had been so great, that, in 1644, a law was made against them, charging them with the denial of the ordinance of magistracy, and of the lawfulness of war, and with the breach of the duties of the first table. Banishment was the penalty. The spirit of this law was retained in the law against heresy, in 1646, which condemned all who denied the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, or any sin in the regenerate. Thus inoffensive opinions were united in the same charge with errors generally held detestable. The Quakers were not well known, in England, till 1652, and did not reach Salem till 1657. The first law against them, under the penalty of death, was in October, 1658, and Endicott was in its favour, but Mr. Norris died before it was enacted. This sect paid no regard to age, to customs, or any prevalent opinions. Its vindication is drawn from the severity it felt upon its first appearance, being obliged to submission or death. A majority of one person obtained this cruel law. Mr. Norris escaped its operation, and the distracted times it occasioned. As early as 1644, the spirit for emigration ceased. The affairs in England promised to the Puritans, the liberty they hoped; and such were the persons expected in New-England.

In Salem, the extent of settlements required that new townships

townships should be formed; and without any contention with Mr. Norris, in 1643, Wenham had consent to a separation, and afterwards Manchester, Marblehead, and Topsfield. In 1657, a meeting-house was built on Beverly side. Peace still remained, and Mr. Norris was the sole pastor of the Salem church for eighteen years. Till 1645, the baptisms were nearly equal to the number of weeks in a year, but they did not represent the population. From 1636 to 1659, the number of males and females is exactly equal, and nearly two-thirds of them administered by Mr. Norris. But the increase of the church was not in the same proportion. Mr. Peters obtained more members in five years, than Mr. Norris in eighteen years. Still the conclusion is not against Mr. Norris. Towns were forming, and he was obliged to check the growth of every sect, which could arise from the swarms of the Commonwealth of England. He held his office, in these troublesome times, without assistance.

In 1644, Mr. Humphries left Salem, and Endicott's influence increased, and he was elected governor. Mr. Harthorne was often opposed to his political opinions, but Endicott was on the popular side. In 1641, some rights of territory had been granted, and these led to hope for a more permanent government. The interest of Salem assisted to restore Winthrop to the chair, in 1646. Harthorne had already declared, that he thought no man qualified for the chief offices of state without property, and in this he was supported by Mr. Norris, but opposed by Endicott, who still favoured the gifts of grace above those of common providence, even in elections. But Harthorne ventured further in 1642. He intended that the council should be permanent; and introduced into court, a book written by Saltonstall, one of the assistants, on this subject. In opposition to this, as an unnecessary and dangerous innovation, Mr. Norris appeared, not knowing from whom the book came. Winthrop was pleased with his reply, and says that this grave and judicious elder treated it with that just severity it deserved. The convictions, from the arguments of Mr. Norris, were abundantly supported by the measures in England, in favour of a republic.

In 1644, an assembly of the magistrates and ministers
was

was held at Salem. In it prudence prevailed. It was deliberated, whether they should admit, as lawful prize, a vessel taken under a commission to capture vessels belonging to certain English ports in hostility with the king and parliament. It was permitted to claim private property on board, but the case was not left to a jury. In 1642, the elders had been convened to give their judgment on the just power of the magistrate. The result was in favour of the magistrate.

In 1643, Salem accomplished a change of its magistrates, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Harthorne; and in 1644, discovered the full extent of its ambition. It had multiplied its representatives, had drawn the greater part of the stock into its own hands, and had obtained the chair for Endicott, and hoped to establish the seat of government in Salem. But the removal of Humphries, the loss of Downing by fire, the divisions in the country, the troubles in England, and the majority in the vicinity of Boston, over-ruled a project, which was ever afterwards abandoned, and Salem was contented to take that place, which its industry and independence can assign, without the emoluments of courts, or the name of the capital. In the mean time, the plans of persecution were preparing; but as Salem had renounced the first object of its ambition, the church felt no struggles in the separation and incorporation of neighbouring towns. The lands were the only subject of any contention. In 1643, was an assembly of elders at Cambridge, on the affairs of Gorton and of Newbury; but Mr. Norris prevented Salem from any interference with its neighbours. In 1648, a platform was proposed to the churches; but Norris found it easy to persuade Endicott to persevere in a platform he judged to be his own, and the result of this measure was without the least effect in Salem. In 1646, a bell was used at funerals; and in 1647, care was taken of the education of poor children. In the same year, a law was published against the Jesuits, who were held up, in Europe, as the terror of the whole protestant world. We hear nothing of their visits to Salem. But the alarm was favourable to the union of the people, and greatly quieted their divisions. In 1649, the lectures were so regular, as to be-

come the time of giving public notice of town-meetings. In 1650, a great mortality, near Boston, spread alarm. Sumptuary laws came of course in 1651; and in addition to the laws of 1646 and 1647, laws were enacted respecting apparel, which produced some whimsical effects; and there was a law against dancing on ordinary occasions. In 1649, Gov. Winthrop died. In 1652, Mr. Cotton, and in 1653, Gov. Dudley. The first generation seemed ready to depart. The subject was common from the pulpit. And the most melancholy reflections prepared the public mind for the greatest frenzy, which soon appeared. They were not pure before God, and they forgot their charity, in establishing their faith. At this critical time, in 1653, Mr. Norris again appeared. He saw the religious, as well as political dangers, from the general perturbation. He expressed the evil consequences from the general anxiety respecting the Dutch in the neighbourhood of New-England; for the public fears, easily excited, had taken hold of this subject. He declared, that it would no longer be prudent to remain neutral in national affairs; that no motives should induce them to submit to continued insults, and to increase the general terror; that the cries for help, against the Dutch and Indians, should be heard; and that it was his own, and the prevalent opinion of thinking men, that a decisive part ought to be taken. But the public mind was not soon tranquil. Trials had been allowed for witchcraft, and the commissioners were indiscreet enough to forbid the Pequots the use of the act, in 1654. Such a sanction to a dangerous prejudice soon wrought the worst effects. Several persons were executed in the neighbourhood of Boston, and in the colony, and one at Boston, in 1655. Accusations were common in all parts of New-England. Mr. Norris was happy in his resistance to all such prejudices in Salem; and to employ the public mind, in 1655, he encouraged spinning in families, with great success; and the employment was aided by a most happy enthusiasm.

Soon another evil threatened him from the Quakers. In 1656, and 1657, by the laws they had been called a cursed sect, and they had entered Salem. Now many would have embraced the opportunity, offered by Cromwell,

well, to remove with great advantages to Jamaica; but the reports of an unhealthy country forbid their concurrence, and this important work was left for Charles II. to accomplish. The fear of such necessity suppressed the zeal of many persecutors. In 1657, it appeared, from the behaviour of Providence, that the Quakers did shun a place, in which there was no opposition. But at Plymouth, it was pretended, in 1658, that the mildest measures were of no avail. The prevailing opinion was afterwards, not to employ them. The court and people were incensed. Five were banished from Ipswich prison. In 1659, the heads of a family, belonging to Salem, were ordered to be sold; and in the same year there were executions at Boston. In Plymouth, in 1660, there were orders to seize them; and in 1662, a warrant was given to apprehend them in eleven towns, but Salem is not among them. Mr. Norris slept with his fathers in March, 1658, the year in which Cromwell died, and escaped the troubles, which were prepared for the town he loved, and which he most faithfully served. With Mr. Norris we close the history of the ministers of the first generation. The consistent politicks, the religious moderation, and the ardent patriotism of Mr. Norris entitle him to the grateful memory of Salem. He diverted the fury of fanaticism by industry, he quieted alarms by inspiring a military courage, and in the public morals, and a well directed charity, with a timely consent to the incorporation of towns around him, he finished in peace, the longest life in the ministry, which had been enjoyed in Salem, and died in his charge. The doctrines of these primitive preachers were chiefly derived from Calvin, are in substance represented in the confession and the catechisms of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and as ratified by parliament in 1649. Members were admitted by a covenant, which obtained as a form, while much was left to the discretion of the ministers.

Mr. John Higginson, son of the first minister in Salem, preached for several years in the garrison at Saybrook fort, near the mouth of Connecticut river, and afterwards became an assistant to Mr. Whitefield at Guilford, and his successor in that church, and he continued till he determined to go for England. On his way, he stopped at Salem,

lem, and having been urged, he consented to tarry one year. At the close of the year, he was solicited to accept the charge, and in August, 1660, he was ordained. Brother major Harthorne imposed hands with the deacons, in the presence of the neighbouring churches and elders. No regard was paid to any former ordination, and Mr. Norton of Boston gave the fellowship of the churches. Upon his settlement, it was agreed to use Cotton's catechism for the children; to administer the communion monthly, and to defray the expenses by the more wealthy members; to make a contribution for the poor upon all public fasts and thanksgivings; to expunge all personal reflections from the church book; and only the church covenant and the baptisms, from 1736, have been preserved, and the church members of the same years. Also to record only such things as had been read and approved publicly by the church. This was a good beginning. But as the Quakers were troublesome at the ordination, Mr. Higginson suffered his zeal to be inflamed; and at length he put into the covenant, to avoid, not the leaven of the Pharisees, but of the Quakers, and in their own language retorted, that the Quakers' light was a stinking vapour from hell. In 1660, the old law of 1631 was again enforced by authority, making church members the only freemen. In 1661, Quakers were executed in Boston, and eighteen were publicly punished in Salem. No discretion was used. In 1662, it was moderation to obtain that these unhappy persons should be whipped only in three towns. The statute of Charles II. in September, 1661, forbidding the persecution of the Quakers, was most happy for New-England, and it was effectual to restrain the violence of the public rage. But enmity did not cease with power. When persecution, in its most oppressive forms, left the church, other subjects engaged the church, and a synod was called, by the General Court, in 1662, on baptism and consociation. The first had become a political question from the freeman's law, and the last was judged necessary for the existence of the New-England churches. The synod continued a fortnight, and then adjourned till the 10th of June, and was then again adjourned till September. Nothing resulted from

it in the church of Salem, excepting a recommendation to avoid expensive cloathing, and several excommunications of those, who denied any power in the church, unaccompanied with any corporal punishments.

In 1663, a new cause of fear arose. Days of humiliation were appointed, to deprecate Episcopal usurpation, which the brethren in England told them to expect from the triumph of the established church over the Puritans, who were stigmatized with the most odious names, from the pulpit and the press. But the deadly wound was given to ecclesiastical usurpation in New-England in 1664. Four commissioners were appointed to settle all affairs, and they refused the law, obliging the freemen to be church members. From this measure, many feared for the church, and many hoped to end great troubles in the state. The admission of members into churches being now a matter purely ecclesiastical, it was left to all the freedom of debate, and each church had its own injunctions. Children born in the church, or baptized, claimed a right of admission, and all the forms, in which the controversy could be conducted, were innocent. The result in the mind of Mr. Higginson was happy, that every claim should be heard, and regarded so far as it could be done peaceably. In this year, Gov. Endicott, who had ruled so long, was dismissed from the church in Salem, to be a member of the church in Boston, as it was more convenient to his public employments. He died, and was interred at Boston, on 23d March, 1665, in the 77th year of his age. A sincere Puritan. After his removal, the synod's propositions were read to the church in Salem, with such observations as the pastor judged proper. A directory for public profession was afterwards published by the pastor, in which, lamenting that so many were kept from baptism, he recommended an examination, without the renewal of a public profession. As the king's commissioners did not readily agree with the General Court, another subject of religious concern arose, which engaged greater attention than the propositions of the synod. In 1665, there were great fears of invasion from the Dutch Squadron. Other subjects of public fasts were taken from the request of the farmers for a meeting-house in the village, and for
another

another minister at Beverly ; from some predictions at the time, of the coming in of the Jews, and from the destructive plague of London. In 1667, the Bay psalm books were proposed to be used ; and as Ainsworth's tunes did not include all the psalms, that they should be used together. But not till 1675, could leave be granted to introduce them for a trial of six months. In 1668, the death of many ministers was a subject of general lamentation. In 1665, the Anabaptists had formed a church in Boston ; and in 1668, Mr. Higginson was invited to join at Boston in a conference with them. But Mr. Higginson had been so greatly betrayed by his zeal in the affairs of the Quakers, that he had determined never to be embittered again by controversy ; and he derived, in the latter part of his life, great advantages from his experience, and by his prudent resolutions. Dr. Owen, who had been invited, in 1665 and 1667, into New-England, and had prepared to go, wrote to his friends, that their prejudices were unreasonable, and ought not to be indulged. This pious man died two months before the ordination of Mr. Noyes, in 1683, and was expected by the people, who had every inducement to bring him to America. In 1669, part of the church in Boston determined to form a new church, and a council was called. Mr. Higginson went to give his advice, and remonstrated against the unreasonable prejudices he discovered, and he was one of the seven, who protested against the conduct to Mr. Davenport. The new church, now called the Old South, obtained a separation. It was confessed, that no provision had been made in the constitution of the New-England churches for such cases, and the elders from the first church in Boston wrote an apology for their proceedings to the church in Salem. Affairs were also settled at Newbury, and Mr. Higginson assisted. He was very often upon ecclesiastical councils. In 1670, the practice of receiving members on the Lord's-day evening, after the service, and not in church meetings, was adopted for the first time. In 1671, the farmers having been discharged from the support of the minister, his subsistence for some time was not well provided, and great expenses arose from a large and incumbered family ; but as the new order of the town began to obtain, in 1672, Mr.

Mr. Charles Nicholet, from Virginia, came to Salem, and he was invited to tarry for a year, as an assistant minister. After two years, he was chosen to continue for life, and was to be supported by a voluntary contribution. The vote was taken in the congregation, and not in the church. The church remonstrated, and in 1685, the General Court, by governor Leverett and others, declare their disapprobation of a vote taken contrary to a law of the jurisdiction, and the established usages of the church. The objections of the pastor were asked, and he gave them; that in his judgment the doctrine was inconsistent in terms, the measures unfriendly to peace, and the duty without any mutual assistance. Mr. Nicholet explained himself, corrected his expressions, and promised caution, and a council was called. But the animosity could not be removed. A new meeting-house was raised on the northern part of the Common. Mr. Nicholet saw no prospect of peace. And after many farewell sermons, in 1676, he departed from America forever. The pastor gave him candidly a recommendation to his friends in England, in all points of civility; and the dismissal from the church was such as Mr. Nicholet would have chosen. These troubles were vexatious to Mr. Higginson, and they arose from the long expectation that some good man would appear to take the charge of the church before their pastor deceased. He was obliged to great exertions, to prevent and heal divisions; and his support had been partly withheld, and his enemies, made by persecution, now had power to distress him. The wars of Philip soon withdrew the public thoughts from these divisions. In 1677, thirteen Salem ketches were taken by the Indians, and some of them returned, with nineteen wounded men. Forty men were sent in a ketch, to recover their friends and property. In 1678, Mr. Higginson condescended to permit a woman, from the island of Jersey, to give her confession to the church in the French language, of which he had acquired some knowledge, and it was translated by a friend present. Mr. Higginson had also informed himself, in early life, of the Indian language, as the apostle Eliot testifies. In 1679, a synod was appointed to meet at Boston, to revise the platform of discipline agreed upon in 1647, and William
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and John Browne attended with the pastor, and the platform was accepted and printed, and read. In 1680, deacon Orne requested that two deacons might be added to assist him, as he had been in that office above fifty years. In 1681, Mary English was received into the church, who afterwards received so many injuries under the pretence of witchcraft. In 1682, the pastor advised the church to invite another minister, and Mr. Nicholas Noyes was ordained 14th November, 1683. He was ordained with the greatest unanimity; and Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, observed at the ordination, that as Enoch was the seventh from Adam, so Mr. Noyes was the seventh ordained minister in Salem. Mr. Nicholas Noyes graduated at Cambridge, New-England, in 1667, and was the son of James Noyes, the first minister of Newbury. Mr. Higginson continued twenty-five years longer in the ministry; but his confidence in Mr. Noyes was so sincere, and their consent so constant, that from this time we may consider Mr. Noyes as leading in the affairs of the church. Mr. John Higginson died on 9th December, 1708, at the great age of ninety-three years, having been forty-nine years in the ministry at Salem, and above seventy years in the duties of a minister. In 1684, immediately after the ordination of Mr. Noyes, Marblehead, which had been an incorporation from 1648, formed a church. The controversy of baptism was yet unsettled, in regard to the conditions of administering it, and the final sense of the church was given in the following vote. "The pastors representing the cases of baptism to multiply, unprovided for in any former vote, such as of religious former scruples, the children of other churches, of members deceased, and of christians not members of any particular church, beg leave to exercise their discretion, not by baptising the ignorant and scandalous, but to act freely, baptising according to their own judgments; and it passed at length, without opposition, that the pastor and teacher had liberty to baptise, as they held themselves bound by virtue of their office." So ended a most tedious controversy of the church. In 1685, it was proposed, that the officers and members of the church should renew the covenant, as at Mr. Higginson's ordination, but it was put off for consideration. In September,

tember, 1686, twenty-six pounds were contributed for the relief of the French protestants, who came to New-England. Whole families associated in Boston, but not any families at Salem. The greater part went to the southern states, particularly to South-Carolina. In 1687, agreeably to the vote of 1684, the children of other churches were baptised, if the parents resided in Salem, and the precedent was established. In 1688, the Quakers were associated for their worship, and admonitions to such as attended at their meetings was the only opposition. The Village had a separate church in 1690. In 1691, a contribution of thirty-two pounds was obtained for the relief of prisoners taken by the Indians.

Such was the order of events before the most melancholy part of the history of Salem, when trials for witchcraft were admitted in the forms of public justice, and the innocent were sacrificed to a cruel superstition. Many of the facts are already before the public; the present history will not relate them, but only such circumstances as may explain this most astonishing fanaticism. The event did not arise in ignorance, but error. The torrent of opinion was irresistible. They, who thought they saw the delusion, did not expose it. They, who were deluded, were terrified into distraction. For a time, no life was safe. But the scene was like a torrent, sudden, irresistible, and momentary. The folly began about five miles from Salem, in that part of Danvers, then called Salem Village, in the upper parish, and very few of the victims belonged to the present town of Salem. In 1677, Mr. Bayley, a preacher on these farms, was received into the church at Salem, recommended from the church at Newbury, but he did not cordially unite them. In 1681, Mr. Bayley agreed to remove, and notice was given that Mr. Burroughs was come to preach during the winter. After the winter, his continuance was asked; and after some debate, it was agreed that no objections should be made, provided, it should not be considered as a final settlement, and liberty of choice should still remain, when the church should be a distinct church. Mr. Burroughs continued several years, and eventually did not settle among them, but left his family, and went eastward into Maine. This

man was a victim of the prejudices, he had excited. In 1686, in September, the village having heard Mr. Lawfon for two years, begged leave of Salem church, that they might agree with him for a settlement; but in this attempt they did not succeed. In 1689, the village applied to be a separate church, and were better agreed in Mr. Paris. It was granted, and Mr. Paris was ordained in November, and the whole business was left with Mr. Noyes. It was in this place of contention, and in the minister's house, the mischief began. If we turn our eyes to Salem, we shall see how ill it was provided to resist this torrent. In 1681, Salem was deprived of major William Harthorne, who had been in the town from 1636. In 1685, it lost another eminent man, captain George Curwin, who came into Salem in 1638. In 1688, it was deprived of the honourable W. Browne, who arrived in 1635. These were the distinguished characters of the town. Captains Lathrop and Gardner had been killed in 1674, and 1675. A more unhappy time could not have been found, when a town was deprived of all its fathers, who had governed it for half a century, with unbounded confidence.* Unhappily the opinion of the learning of Mr. Noyes assisted the prejudices he had adopted. He believed in witchcraft, and so did every other person. Many had different opinions about trials, and statutes on the subject; but the doctrine of invisible agency, no one was bold enough utterly to deny. The dispute could not be opened upon just grounds. Doubtless many saw the danger from such licentious proceedings, but none had courage to apply or propose relief. Saltonstall left the bench, but ought he not, as a friend of justice, to have been upon it? Four judges of the five belonging to Suffolk, were from Boston; why were they not present, to resist the influence of the Salem judges, who were over ruled by the madness, which was universal around them? There is no plea from what governor Bradstreet and deputy-governor Danforth knew. Increase Mather did not oppose Cotton Mather; and while posterity are grateful to Willard for private generosity, they would have thanked him more sincerely for the lives of the innocent. The ministers were free
enough

* For their offices, see the Appendix, No. VII.

enough to condemn Noyes, Hale, and Paris, after the fury was over, and many justices, like Pilate, did not do these things, when they suffered others to do them by their authority. Hale, Noyes, and Paris will stand in higher esteem with posterity, than all the elders, who were too timid to speak, or perhaps too weak to think, till the destruction was sure. Hale wrote when it was too late, and with too much pride for a man, who had done so much harm. Paris suffered, and was pitied. But Noyes came out, and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved, and blessed the survivors, whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of life to bless mankind. He never thought, in all these things, that he made the least compensation, but all the world believed him sincere. The historian, when he reviews such scenes, while he forgives fanaticism, must hate religious pride, when it sacrifices mankind.

The agency of invisible beings, if not a part of every religion, is not contrary to any one. It may be found in all ages, and in the most remote countries. It is not disputed, that the serious belief prevailed among the primitive christians, and that they claimed a power over them. No fact of ecclesiastical history is more plain or more perplexing. It is then no just subject for our admiration, that a belief, so alarming to our fears, so natural to our prejudices, and so easily abused by superstition, should obtain among our fathers, when it had not been rejected, in the ages of philosophy, letters, and even of revelation. In a place like Salem Village, vexed with prejudices, the physician agreed with the minister, that, in a singular case, there was an evil hand, as there often is when a matter is too hard for us. The minister was convinced, and applied to prayer and fasting. An Indian, in his house, who thought he had driven invisible beings away, ventured upon his experiments. He prepared unleavened bread with the vilest excrements. In some cases, this would have been a subject of ridicule. But the public mind was prepared for a more serious explanation. There had been great political revolutions, many prophecies of future events, alarming Indian wars, and great losses in the town.

But

But all these did not, in the least, contribute to the effect. The invisible agency was nothing more than the familiar tales of spirits, which supplied every winter evening with new fears. The spark fell upon this inflammable substance, and behold how great a matter a little fire kindled. Infection never was so sudden, for all were filled with the most painful apprehensions. All recollected the wonderful terrors, which had already distressed their imaginations. The evidence produced, may convince us. Children, below twelve years of age, obtained a hearing before magistrates. Indians came and related their own knowledge of invisible beings. Tender females told every fright, but not one man of reputation ventured to offer a single report. Nothing could be more ridiculous, than a mere narrative of the evidence. It would be an affront to the sober world. The terror of imagination was so great, that, at the hazard of life, they, who were charged with guilt, confessed it. They knew it to be true, that they had experienced strange apprehensions of mind. The confessions blinded the judges. The public clamours urged them on, and the novelty of the calamity deprived them of all ability to investigate its true causes, till nineteen innocent persons were victims of the public credulity. An example of each kind may be produced. Perhaps not a single person suffered, or was accused, that had not been brought into view in some painful circumstances. Some evil of private life was the uniform ground, upon which mad suspicion proceeded. This perplexed the judges, who examined with critical care the spectral evidence, and the precedents in the English courts. Mr. Burroughs, who had preached in the Village, and had returned to his family, was the candidate, about whom they were divided, and of whom they had different opinions. He was known by his feats, and great bodily strength, which he preserved at fourscore years. The accusers made this the subject. He died with fervent prayers, that the delusion might cease. It was said, that the bodies were not properly buried; but upon an examination of the ground, the graves were found of the usual depth, and remains of the bodies, and of the wood, in which they were interred. The evidence related to his presence at the communion, and to his

his wonderful exertions of strength. No notice was taken of his profession at his trial, and he offered no special plea. He was left in prison, and carried out in rags to his execution. Giles Corey, who was pressed to death, because he would not implead, had, in the preceding year, acknowledged himself a scandalous person, and was received, upon repentance, at eighty years. Mr. English was the only man of property, who was arrested in Salem. He came to his friends in America from the isle of Jersey, and lived with Mr. Hollingsworth, and married their only child Mary. The grandfather, Richard Hollingsworth, came to Salem in 1635, and the family were wealthy. Mr. Philip English had a great estate, but held no office in town. He had been engaged in several disputes with the town about lands, which he claimed, but did not recover. He built a large house, in the best style of the day, and it is now standing. He possessed fourteen buildings, besides a wharf, in the eastern part of the town. Mrs. English was a woman of a superior mind, and of the best education; but, from the indulgence of her education, was not condescending to all the poor around her, and from them the accusations came. The officer came to her house in the evening of 21st of April, 1692. The officer had been admitted by the servants, and read his warrant in her bed-chamber, but she refused to rise. Guards were placed around the house. In the morning she attended the devotions of her family, kissed her children with great composure, proposed her plan of their education, took leave of them, and then told the officer she was ready to die. She was examined, and committed, by indulgence, to custody in a public house, at which her husband visited her. On the 21st of March, the magistrates met in the town, and Mr. Noyes opened with prayer. On the 24th, they met in the Village, and Mr. Hale prayed. On the 26th, they met again in town, and the day was kept as a day of fasting by consent, and completed the terror and the outcries. Mr. Higginson was present at an examination on this day, but he declined any service, excusing himself from his age, on a subject he did not understand. The frequent visits of Mr. English, to his wife, brought accusations against him, but he obtained leave to be confined with

with his wife in Arnold gaol in Boston, till the time of trial. In this situation, they were relieved by the generous favour of Messrs. Willard and Moody, the ministers of the first church in Boston. The frank declarations of Mr. Moody occasioned his removal from Boston. They assisted Mr. English and his wife in removing to New-York, and recommended them to governor Fletcher, who paid them every attention. In the ensuing winter, Mr. English sent generous relief to the suffering poor of Salem; and in 1693, returned to Salem, as papers of business indicate. From March till August, 1692, was the most distressing time Salem ever knew. Business was interrupted. The town deserted. Terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart. Mr. Noyes welcomed Mr. English to Salem, and was constant in his visits till death. The town expressed their joy publicly at his return. But, though generous to the poor, Mr. English seized the body of sheriff Curwin, after it was prepared for interment, for a large book debt, which he had contracted, and detained the body till some satisfaction was made to him. Many things, formerly belonging to Mr. Curwin, are held still by the posterity of Mr. English, in memory of this transaction. As soon as Mr. English was apprehended, his house was opened, and every thing moveable became free plunder to the multitude. So surely will licentiousness beget its likeness, whatever may be its pretence. The court made some allowance to Mr. English; but he refused it, as not being, in a just degree, adequate to his losses from his houses, stores, and other buildings. After his death, his heirs accepted £.200, which they obtained by the family of Sewall. Every place was the subject of some direful tale. Fear haunted every street. Melancholy dwelt in silence, in every place, after the sun retired. The population was diminished. Business could not, for some time, recover its former channels, and the innocent suffered with the guilty.

Witchcraft soon proved itself to be an evil to be corrected in the public opinion, and not in a court of justice. Necessity imposed an end to all forms of laws, and the accusations were refused with the worst apprehensions. As soon as the judges ceased to condemn, the people ceased to

to accuse. Just as, after a storm, the people were astonished to see the light at once break out bright again. Terror, at the violence and the guilt of the proceedings, succeeded instantly to the conviction of blind zeal; and what every man had encouraged, all professed to abhor. Few dared to blame other men, because few were innocent. They, who had been most active, remembered that they had been applauded. The guilt and the shame became the portion of the country, while Salem had the infamy of being the place of the transactions. Every expression of sorrow was found in Salem. And after the death of Mr. Higginson, whose only fault was his silent consent, the church, before the choice of another minister, publicly erased all the ignominy, they had attached to the dead, by recording a most humble acknowledgment of their error. After the public mind became quiet, few things were done to disturb it. But a diminished population, the injury done to religion, and the distress of the aggrieved, were seen and felt with the greatest sorrow. The Quakers, who had now a house of worship in the town, took their turn to triumph, as they had uniformly refused to aid in such affairs, upon the principle of justice, not from denial of invisible agency. Their invectives still had power to enrage, and in 1695 there was a warrant from the council to apprehend Thomas Maule, for a book he had written. The public resentment was so great in Salem, that common justice was refused. When brought to his trial, the jury would not convict him; an event, which put an end to such prosecutions. Thomas Maule became afterwards a quiet and useful citizen.

In the church, a few simple rules were adopted. Members were admitted at the time of the communion. The confession was more a form, and principally confined to a breach of the seventh commandment. The deacon's office was defined to be such as it now remains, an office of charity. In 1696, the town began to flourish again. A liberal contribution was sent to the island of St. Christopher. The peace of Ryfwick, in 1697, gave great joy, and opened a new scene of public affairs. The colonies began to defy their enemies. In this year, Salem lost the last governor that ever resided in it. Simon Bradstreet, the late

late governor, died on 27th March, 1697. He was born in England, in 1603, came into America with his father-in-law, governor Thomas Dudley. He was appointed a magistrate on the voyage, and secretary of the colony. From governor Leverett's death, in 1678, he was governor till the charter was lost, in 1686. In 1689, he was re-elected by the people, upon the revolution, and was the last governor of their choice. He continued till governor Phips came with the new charter, in 1692, and died at 94 years of age. A Latin inscription is upon his tomb in Salem.*

Uncommon attention was now paid to the schools, and the church received rich donations from Benjamin and colonel Samuel Browne. The ministers found their reputation would not admit, that they should be active in placing the congregation at their seats in the meeting-house; and they declined an office, which the want of power rendered unhappy to them. Their virtues now were their only recommendation and support. In 1702, the town had greatly recovered its former prosperity, and persevered till all property was defined, and all town lands were inclosed. In 1713, this excellent work was accomplished. In 1708, Mr. Higginson died. He was useful in councils; and being of good reputation, he wrote several prefaces to useful books of devotion, and published several sermons and other works in his profession. He was precipitate in his first persecution of the Quakers; and became more moderate afterwards. He was free from all blame, in the infatuation of the witchcraft. He was often embarrassed in his worldly affairs, and in all his children he was not blessed. He was a venerable man. In 1709, Mr. Noyes proposed Mr. George Curwin; and he would have been immediately ordained, if all who live beyond the Town-bridge had not hoped to become a separate church. One hundred and nine subscribers were obtained for the present encouragement of Mr. Curwin. In 1713, another church was formed, which is the lower parish in Danvers, as it was called at its incorporation, in 1757. In 1715, another church was formed on Ryal's side, which is now the upper parish in Beverly. Mr. George Curwin graduated at Cambridge in 1701, and was

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

ordained

ordained 19th May, 1714. He died, from a sudden cold, on 23d November, 1717, aged 35. He left a reputation, in the church, of great philanthropy, good address, and excellent pulpit talents. His friend and colleague, Mr. Nicholas Noyes, soon followed him. He died 13th December, 1717, aged 69. Mr. Noyes was the nephew of Mr. James Noyes, the minister of Newbury. His uncle Parker, from whom he received his education, was in the same charge with his uncle Noyes, who was among the most enlightened men of his times, and his writings are an honour to his memory. His knowledge of civil and religious liberty was displayed in the free use he gave to all the good citizens of the privileges of the church, though they might be freemen under the old law. His life is to be found, from the pen of his nephew, among Mather's worthies. If the nephew had not the same regard to dreams, as his uncle Noyes, he certainly followed his uncle Parker in an incautious use of the prophecies. And to this error he may charge the delusion, which is the greatest blot upon his memory. Mr. Noyes was a very corpulent man. Not gloomy, but sanguine in his temperament. He delivered the election sermon in 1698. He was a scholar in all the literature of his times.

The town was now divided into two parishes, and two new meeting-houses were erected. The First Church held the ancient ground, and the Second Church was raised in the same street, not quite half a mile eastward of it.

On 8th of October, 1718, Samuel Filke, who graduated at Cambridge in 1708, was ordained in the First Church. He was a man of real abilities; but his high thoughts of church authority prevented his usefulness, and he was dismissed from the First Church in 1735, and accepted a new house, provided by his friends, in the same street, westward, on the north side of the street. He was succeeded in the Old Church by Mr. John Sparhawk, who graduated at Cambridge in 1731. Mr. Sparhawk was ordained on 6th December, 1736, and died April 30, 1755, aged 42. He was much esteemed. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Barnard, who graduated at Cambridge in 1732, had been ordained at Newbury, and was installed at Salem on 17th September, 1755. He died in

1776, aged 62. He has left several sermons, and had an high reputation. Mr. Asa Dunbar, who graduated at Cambridge in 1767, was ordained 22d July, 1772, resigned in 1779, and died December, 1788. He was a man of genius, and died in the profession of law, in New-Hampshire. John Prince, L.L.D. who graduated, in 1776, at Cambridge, was ordained on 10th November, 1779, and is now minister of the First Church.

There was another Friends meeting-house before that built in 1716.

The Second Church was formed in 1718. Mr. Robert Staunton, graduated at Cambridge in 1712, was ordained, in the Second Church, 8th April, 1719, and died 2d May, 1727, aged 35 years. William Jennison, who graduated in 1724, succeeded him, and was ordained 22d May, 1728, and resigned in 1736. He died, aged 55, in 1750. James Diman, graduated at Cambridge in 1730, and was ordained 11th May, 1737. He died 8th October, 1788, aged 81. William Bentley was ordained colleague minister 24th September, 1783, and was graduated at Cambridge in 1777.

An Episcopal Protestant Church, agreeably to the constitutions and canons of the Church of England, was opened in 1733, upon land given by Philip English. It was soon enlarged, and wings were added in 1771. Several clergymen occasionally performed public service, and Rev. Charles Brockwell was with them very much from 1738 to 1746, when he went to the King's Chapel in Boston. William Macgilcrist was the incumbent from 1747. He died 19th April, 1780, aged 73. Rev. Mr. Nichols was assistant from 1771, till December, 1774, and Robert Boucher had officiated early in this church. The present rector, Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, was ordained by Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, in 1772, graduated at Cambridge, New-England, 1763, and came to Salem 25th February, 1782.

Upon Mr. Fiske's dismissal from the First Church, another house of worship was raised, and it may be called the Third Church, though it refused the name. Samuel Fiske was installed in 1736, and dismissed in 1745. He died at Salem, 7th April, 1770, aged 81. Dudley Leavitt was ordained 24th October, 1745, and died 7th February,

1762,

1762, aged 42. John Huntington was ordained in 1763, and died 30th May, 1766, aged 30. Nathaniel Whitaker, D. D. who had been in the ministry at Norwich, Connecticut, was installed 28th July, in 1769; and removed in 1783. The meeting-house, erected in 1735, was burnt down in the great fire of 1774, 6th October, and the congregation then divided. They, who separated from the ministry of Mr. Whitaker, purchased an assembly room, built in 1766, and took the name of the Third Church. The deed was given on 25th November, 1774, and it was prepared for public worship on the 18th December following. Dr. Whitaker had claimed to be under presbyterian government, since 1769. Mr. Daniel Hopkins preached with them, and was ordained 18th November, 1778.

Dr. Whitaker, with his friends, erected a new house, called the Tabernacle, in 1776; but divisions arising, he removed in 1783, and died in Virginia. Mr. Joshua Spaulding was ordained in the Tabernacle 26th October, 1785.

The North Church was formed from the First Church, in 1773, and Thomas Barnard, D. D. son of the pastor of the First Church, was ordained January 13th, 1773. He graduated at Cambridge in 1766.

There is an half-length painting of Francis Higginson in the council chamber, at Boston, in the old state-house.

There are several engravings of Mr. Hugh Peters, taken by his political enemies.

There is a good half-length painting of Mr. George Curwin in the possession of his son.

The ring of Mr. Norris yet remains in the family, but no picture.

There is a good engraving of Rev. Charles Brockwell, taken in Boston.

The baptisms stand in the following proportions :

From 1636 to 1659, 24 years,	387 males,	387 fem.	Tot. 774.
From 1660 to 1684, 25 years,	476 ———	468 ———	Tot. 944.
From 1685 to 1699, 15 years,	350 ———	355 ———	Tot. 705.

1213

1210

2423.

By these tables, it appears that the males of particular families were equal to the females for the first 24 years : that the males exceeded the females by eight in the next

25 years : that the females exceeded the males by five in the next fifteen years : and that for the seventeenth century, the excess of males was three.

Till 1718, the present town was in one religious society. From 1700 to 1718, 19 years, 413 males, 501 fem. Tot. 914. Here is at once a difference as of 6 to 7, which must be accounted for in the examples of adult female baptisms, to obtain privileges unknown in the preceding period. And in the excess of female adults, the difference is to be found.

The First Church, while separated from the Second Church, from 1718 to 1743, in the table, gives in these 26 years, 629 males, 643 females. Total 1272. An excess of 14 females.

The table of the Second Church, from 1719 to 1743, in the same time, gives 663 ; 321 males, and 342 females, an excess of 21 females.

The table of the Second Church, from 1719 to 1799, inclusively, gives, for 81 years, 1282 males, 1370 females, total 2652.

In these years, 34 times the males exceed the females ; 42 times the females exceed the males ; and 5 times they are equal. The second church is formed almost from the families of mariners, and more adult females are baptised. Regular bills of mortality, for Salem, have not been kept till lately. From bills kept from 1762 to 1773, inclusively, excepting 1766, and 67, for ten years, the deaths were found to be 1045. In this number, 90 died above 70 years of age, and included in this number, are 20 above 80 years, and 10 above 90 years of age. For the year 1769, the males and females were kept, and were 59 males, and 55 females ; total 114. In 1762, there was a great mortality among children ; 118 died, and 50 were children. For the four last years of the term for 1770, 71, 72, and 73, an account of diseases was kept ; and in 1770, 18 died of consumptions, and 8 of throat-distemper. In 1771, 25 of consumptions, and 25 of fevers. In 1772, 24 of consumptions, and 17 of fevers. In 1773, in which the bill of mortality is doubled, 27 died of consumptions, 28 of fevers, 14 of the cholera, 25 of the dysentery, and 17 of the small-pox.

From the bills kept with care in the Eastern, or Second Church, from 1785 to 1799, there were 480 deaths, of which

which 94 were abroad; and of the 94, 61 of fevers taken abroad, the other part by casualties: 66 were under 30 years of age, and 28 above 30 years. Of those who died at home and abroad, 117 died under two years: 172 between two years and thirty: 108 between thirty and sixty years: between sixty and ninety years, 78 persons: and between ninety and one hundred and three, 5 persons; which is a loss of 32 annually. At the state census, in 1785, the whole society was 1097. At the United States census, in 1790, 1277. In voluntary associations, and in great towns, in which society forms, changes, and multiplies continually, a precise number cannot be fixed. There are seven religious societies in the town, of unequal numbers; the eastern society will amount to a seventh part of the population, or at least to 1300 souls. Exclusively of those who died abroad, the whole number will stand at the respective months in the following proportion:

January, 27; February, 24; March, 24; April, 23; May, 21; June, 28; July, 39; August, 38; September, 40; October, 48; November, 38; December, 36.

In the year 1780, 278 were males, and 212 were females. As great a number of males did not die at home, as females. Deducting the 93, and 27 will be left for the waste of life at home. In the whole number, there were 91 male heads of families, 17 persons were born abroad, and 28 persons in other parts of the United States; 24 died by casualties, only 3 at home. Of the diseases, which have prevailed, 74 have died in consumptions, and 94 of fevers of different names; 12 have died of the dysentery; and no other malady has occasioned the last number of victims. The consumptions prevail most among the young. Of the throat-distemper, we have lost 3; of the small-pox, 6; of the measles, 1. No blacks are included in these accounts, as none are in the society. In the same society, the number of marriages, from 1785 to 1799, is exactly 200, which is equal to the number lost at home. The part of the town was, till 1783, a parish; and the people of the society live very much together. In no place are they far from the level of the sea, upon a sandy plain, narrow, and washed by the salt water on each side, at every tide.*

[To be continued.]

* See Appendix, No. IX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

COPY OF SALEM INDIAN DEED.

TO all people to whom this present deed of sale shall come. David Nonnupanohow, Sam Wuttaannoh, and John Tontohgunne, Cicely's son, grand children of George Sagamore, Cicely Petaghunckiq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, both daughters of George Sagamore afore-said, Thomas Ukqueakussennum, alias Captain Tom, all of Waymessick, alias Chelmsford, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America : James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumneymarsh, Israel Quanophkownatt, son of said James, Joanna Quanophkownatt, relict, widow of old John Quanophkownatt, Yacoataw, relict, widow of John Oonsumog, Wattacotinnusk, wife of Peter Ephraim, all of Natick, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America, afore-said, Send Greeting.

Know ye, that we the abovesaid, [here the names are repeated] for and in consideration of the full and just sum of forty pounds, current money of New-England, to them in hand, at and before the enfealing and delivery of these presents by John Ruck, John Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, Israel Porter, selectmen and trustees for the town of Salem, in the county of Essex, within his majesty's territory and dominion of New-England in America, well and truly paid, the receipt whereof, they do hereby acknowledge, and themselves therewith fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part thereof, do hereby acquit, exonerate, and discharge the said [here follow the names of the selectmen of Salem] trustees abovesaid, their heirs, executors, and administrators, as also all the rest of the purchasers and proprietors of the township of Salem, and each and every of them forever, by these presents, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents, do fully, freely, clearly, and absolutely give, grant,

grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, and confirm unto them the said [here the names] trustees aforesaid, and to the proprietors in, and purchasers of the township of Salem aforesaid, all the said township of Salem, viz. all that tract and parcel of land lying to the westward of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, whereupon the town of Salem is built, so proceeding along to the head of Neumkeage river, called, by the English, Bass river, so comprehending all the land, belonging to the township of Salem, according as it is butted and bounded with and upon the towns of Beverly, Wenham, Topsfield, Reading, Lynn, and Marblehead, down to the sea, which said land is a part of what belonged to the ancestors of the grantors, and is their proper inheritance: or howsoever the said township, or any part or parcel thereof, is butted and bounded, or reputed to be bounded: together with all houses, edifices, buildings, lands, yards, orchards, gardens, meadows, marshes, feeding grounds, rocks, stones, beach, flats, pastures, fences, commons, commons of pasture, woods, underwoods, swamps, waters, watercourses, dams, ponds, head wares, fishing, fowling, ways, easements, profits, privileges, rights, commodities, emoluments, royalties, hereditaments, and appurtenances, mires, metals, minerals, whatsoever; as also with all islands and privileges of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, which the ancestors of the said grantees heretofore rightfully possessed, with all and singular their appurtenances, to the said township of Salem, and other the premises, belonging, or in any case appertaining, or therewith now used, occupied, or enjoyed, as part, parcel, or member thereof; and also all rents, arrearages of rents, quit-rents, rights of all things above named, as also all rivers, creeks, and coves whatever, with all their privileges and appurtenances, nothing excepted, or reserved; and also all deeds, writings, and evidences whatever, touching and concerning the premises, or any part or parcel thereof.

To have and to hold all the said township of Salem, butted and bounded as abovesaid, with all other the above granted premises, with their, and every of their rights, members, and appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, hereby granted, bargained, and sold, or meant, mentioned,

mentioned, or intended to be, to and for the sole use, benefit, and behoof of the proprietors in, and purchasers of the said township of Salem. And the said [here the Indian names] for themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly, severally, and respectively, do hereby covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, their heirs, and assigns, on behalf of the said proprietors and purchasers of the said town of Salem, in manner and form following, (that is to say), that at the time of this present bargain and sale, and until the enfealing and delivery of these presents, they and their ancestors were the true, sole, and lawful owners of all the aforesaid bargained premises, and were lawfully seized of and in the same, and in every part thereof, in their own proper right, and have in themselves full power, good right, and lawful authority to grant, sell, convey, and assure the same unto the said [here the names] trustees abovesaid, their heirs and assigns, for the use abovesaid, as a good, perfect, and absolute estate of inheritance in fee simple, without any manner of condition, reversion, or limitation whatever, so as to alter, change, defeat, or make void the same : and that the said John Ruck, &c. [here the names] as trustees aforesaid, and their heirs and assigns, for the use and benefit of the purchasers and proprietors of the aforesaid township of Salem, shall and may, by force and virtue of these presents, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, lawfully, peacefully, and quietly have, hold, use, occupy, possess, and enjoy the above-granted premises, with their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, free and clear, and clearly acquitted and discharged of and from all and all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, jointures, dowers, judgments, executions, forfeitures, and of and from all other titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatever, had, made, committed, done, or suffered to be done by the said David, &c. [here the names] or either or any of them, their, or either, or any of their heirs, or assigns, or by their, or either, or any of their ancestors, at any time or times before the enfealing hereof. And further, that the said David, &c. [here the names] their heirs, executors,
and

and administrators, jointly and severally, shall and will, from time to time, and all times forever hereafter, warrant and defend the above granted premises, with their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, unto the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, and to their heirs and assigns forever, to and for the sole use and benefit of the proprietors and purchasers in and of the said township of Salem, against all and every person and persons whatever, any ways lawfully claiming or demanding the same, or any part or parcel thereof. And lastly, that they the said David, [here the names] or either or any of them, their or any of their heirs, executors, or administrators, shall and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, when thereunto required, at the cost and charges of said John Ruck, &c. [here the names], their heirs or assigns, or the purchasers and proprietors of said township of Salem, do, make, acknowledge, execute, and suffer, all and every such further act and acts, thing and things, assurances and conveyances in the law whatever, for the further and better surety and suremaking of the abovesaid township of Salem, with the rights, hereditaments, and appurtenances above, by these presents, mentioned, to be bargained and sold unto the said [here the names] trustees as abovesaid, their heirs or assigns, for the use aforesaid, as by the said [here the names] trustees aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, or the said proprietors, or by their counsel, learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, advised, or required.

In witness whereof, the said David, &c. [here the names] have hereunto set their hands and seals, the eleventh day of October, anno Domini one thousand six hundred eighty-six, anno regni regis Jacobi II. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hybernæ, fidei defensoris, secundo.

David. Sam. John. John. Cicely. Sarah.
Thomas. James. Jama. Israel. Joanna.
Yacoataw. Wattacotinnusk.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by David, &c. [here the names] as their act and deed, in the presence of us, after the same was read to them,

ANDREW ELIOT, senior.
THOMAS HUNT.
JOHN HILL, senior.
SAMUEL HARDY.
WILLIAM WOODBERRY.

{ This instrument acknowledged by David, &c.
[here the names] to be their act and deed, this
eleventh day of October, 1686, before me, BAR-
THOLEMEW GIDNEY, one of his majesty's
council for his territory and dominions of
New-England in America.

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No.

No. II.

Jeffrey Maffey came into Salem with Roger Conant, and was active in the service of the town. His integrity, perseverance, and useful information gained him the public confidence. He was early employed in surveying land; and, in 1635, was on a committee of land appointed by the town. In 1636, he sold his ten-acre lot, and took land in Mackarel cove, now in Beverly. In 1637, he obtained more land, as his fifty acres were rocky. In 1637, he was chosen one of the seven men, or selectmen, and continued in that office till 1654. At the expiration of that term, he received a gift of land for transcribing the town book; and from that time it ceases to be regular. He had several compensations, for services, in land. He was joined with the committee of Marblehead, in disposing of their lands. He was employed, in 1643, to run the line between Salem and Ipswich. In 1648, he was overseer in the building of Town bridge. In 1653 and 54, he was empowered to fix the bounds of Topsfield. He returned to the board of selectmen in 1657; and in 1665, assisted again in laying out lands. He accepted of different town offices, and was on the grand jury in 1667. When Darby fort was disused, the lot was put into his hands. He died in 1676, aged 84 years. In towns, such men deserve every honour. His son John was born in Salem in 1629, and was the first town-born child. He married in 1658, and died in 1709, aged 80 years. From this circumstance of his birth, the evidence may be acceptable to the public. In 1697, he was called to testify of the position of certain houses formerly in the town, being aged about 66. In 1703, at the church meeting, the old great church bible, being injured by use, was presented to John Maffey, as an aged person, "AND THE FIRST TOWN-BORN CHILD." In 1694, he petitioned for the ferry, calling himself, in the petition, now on record, "*the ancientest planter, and the oldest man now living in Salem, that was born here.*" Miles Ward, a grandson by female descent, was at the funeral, and Ward died in 1796, aged above 92 years. John Symonds, who died in 1791, aged 100, knew him well, and lived in the next house. Maffey's house is yet standing. The family is not now in Salem,

lem, in the family name. Abigail was born of John, in 1671, and lived within the memory of the present generation. She preserved and delivered the cradle to the survivors.

No. III.

At the head of Shallop cove, now filled up, upon plowing for the first time, were found, in 1790, two pieces of money, one a coin of Louis XIII. of France, and the other a coin of Charles I. of England. They are in the cabinet of the Hon. James Winthrop, Esq. at Cambridge.

No. IV.

COPY FROM SALEM CHURCH BOOK.

Sixth of 6th month. This Covenant was publicly signed and declared. *Gather my saints together unto me, that have made a COVENANT with me.* Pf. I. 5.

WE, whose names are here-under-written, members of the present church of Christ in Salem, having found, by sad experience, how dangerous it is to set loose to the Covenant we make with our God, and how apt we are to wander into bye paths, even to the loosing of our first aims in entering into church-fellowship; Do therefore, solemnly, in the presence of the eternal God, both for our own comfort, and those, which shall or may be joined unto us, RENEW that church covenant, we find this church bound unto at their first beginning, viz.

“We covenant with the Lord and with one another, and do bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth. And do more explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and goodness of the Lord Jesus.

I. We avow the Lord to be our God, and ourselves his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

II. We promise to give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us, in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave to him alone for life and glory, and to oppose all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

III.

III. We promise to walk with our brethren and sisters, in this congregation, with all watchfulness and tenderness; avoiding all jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences, to follow the rule of the Lord Jesus, and to bear, and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

IV. In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

V. We will not, in the congregation, be forward, either to shew our own gifts or parts in speaking, or scrupling; or there discover the failings of our brethren and sisters; but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, in the profession of it, slighted, by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

VI. We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel, in all truth and peace, both in regard to those that are within, or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; nor laying a stumbling block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, that we may avoid even the very appearance of evil.

VII. We hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those, that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by not grieving their spirits, through our irregularities.

VIII. We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord, in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's rewards.

IX. Also promising, to our best abilities, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and his will, that they may serve him also. And all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."

This covenant was renewed by the church on a solemn day of humiliation, 6th of 1st month, 1660; when also, considering the power of temptation among us by reason of the Quakers' doctrine, to the leavening of some in the place where we are, and endangering of others, Do see
cause

cause to remember the admonition of our Saviour Christ to his disciples, Matth. xvi. *Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Pharisees*; and do judge, so far as we understand it, that the Quakers' doctrine is as bad, or worse, than that of the Pharisees. Therefore, we do COVENANT, by the help of Jesus Christ, to take heed, and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the *Quakers*.

No. V.

It may be proper to vindicate the town of Salem against the unkind reports of an anonymous writer, in an History of Connecticut, published, 2d edition, 1782, in regard to Mr. Hugh Peters. The writer imputes the return of Mr. Peters to England, to the plans of his enemies; and he mentions Mather and Cotton. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, came with him, and never was in any competition with him. The oldest of the political Mathers was but just born. As to Cotton, Peters flattered him at first; and when Peters left America, Cotton was friendly to him; but the affairs of Mrs. Hutchinson had taken away the influence of Cotton. But what influence had he upon merchants? As to what he says of the yard paved with English flints, and the great house; Mr. Peters was known to get the favour of the people by his simple manner of living, travelling on foot, and freedom of conversation; and about thirty years ago, these English flints were discovered. The yard proved to be an hearth, which he used in the side of a knoll, and over which his building stood. The hearth was made of round pebbles, and had a flat stone in the back of it. As to the foundation of Dr. Cooper's church, it was not laid till sixty years after he left America. As to any wrongs, Mr. Peters continued to trade with Salem; and in 1642, he had a joint stock of £.500, on which he made eighty per cent. profit. The merchants, who are said to have wronged him, never had any part of his estate, which, in Salem, was only his church settlement; and they were the persons who freely contributed to assist his widow, for many years after his death. The town had no concern in any of these transactions.

No. VI.

The characters of Mr. Nicholas Noyes, and Mr. George Curwin,

Curwin, as given by persons well acquainted with them, and which were published in the public news-letters in Boston, and recorded in the church book.

Salem, November 23, 1717. Died, the reverend George Curwin, in the 35th year of his age, and the fourth of his ordained ministry in Salem.

He was highly esteemed in his life, and very deservedly lamented at his death; having been very eminent for his early improvements in learning and piety, his singular abilities, and great labours, his remarkable zeal and faithfulness in the service of his master. A great benefactor to our poor. The reverend Mr. Noyes his life was much bound up in him.

Salem, December 13, 1717. Died, the very reverend and famous Mr. Nicholas Noyes, near 70 years of age, and in the 35th year of his ordained ministry in Salem.

He was extraordinarily accomplished for the work of the ministry, whereunto he was called, and wherein he found mercy to be faithful; and was made a rich, extensive, and long continued blessing. Considering his superior genius; his pregnant wit; strong memory; solid judgment; his great acquisitions in human learning and knowledge; his conversation among men, especially with his friends, so very pleasant, entertaining, and profitable: his uncommon attainments in the study of divinity; his eminent sanctity, gravity and virtue; his serious, learned, and pious performances in the pulpit; his more than ordinary skill in the prophetic parts of scripture; his wisdom and usefulness in human affairs; and his constant solicitude for the public good: it is no wonder, that Salem, and the adjacent part of the country, as also the churches, university, and people of New-England, justly esteem him, as a principal part of their glory. He was born at Newbury, 22d Dec. 1647, and died a bachelor.

No. VII.

Major William Harthorne came from Dorchester to Salem, in 1636, and received every favour in the town lands. In 1637, was a justice of the sessions, and held all the town offices, when particular services required. In 1643, with Emanuel Downing, he was chosen representative,

tive, and was much in the General Court; was the first speaker of the House of Representatives till 1662; was afterwards a counsellor; was captain in the militia in 1644, and was appointed major in 1665, in which office he commanded the regiment. He died in 1681.

Captain George Curwin was born in England, in 1610, and came to Salem in 1633, with his wife and family, and was rich. He was often engaged in town affairs, and in 1666 command a troop of horse. He also was a representative in the General Court. There is a three-quarter portrait of him in the hands of Samuel Curwin, Esq. and son of reverend George Curwin, of Salem, and his great grand son. He had a full, round forehead, large nostrils, high cheek bones, grey eyes. His dress was a wrought flowing neckcloth, a fash covered with lace, a coat with short cuffs, and reaching half way between the wrist and elbow, the shirt in plaits below, a cane, and an octagon ring, which still remains. The dress was preserved till the present generation, and then stolen. He died 5th January, 1685.

Hon. William Browne was born in England, in 1607, and was the youngest son of Francis Browne, of Brandon, in Suffolk; was with a merchant in Southold, and married the daughter of the reverend S. Smith, of North-Yarmouth, and came with his wife to America in 1635. He was a merchant, and acquired a great estate. He was employed in offices of trust in town and county. He was a commissioner for small causes, for many years; and in 1659, a representative, for the first time, with major Harthorne. In 1680, he was in the council, and justice of the county court. He contributed liberally to all public works. He paid one-tenth for the new meeting-house in 1673, and left considerable sums for pious uses. He left a donation of £.150 to Harvard college, and gave £.100 at its foundation. He gave, besides, £.100 for poor scholars. He gave £.50 to the grammar-school in Salem, £.50 to the poor, besides £.50 to the school in Charlestown, and other sums to pious uses. Two sons survived him, the Hon. major W. Browne, and B. Browne, Esq. His daughter Mary married the Hon. Wait Winthrop, Esq. His son Joseph Browne, minister at Charlestown, died there in 1678. Hon. William Browne died at Salem, January 20, 1688.

No.

No. VIII.

The monumental inscription upon Simon Bradstreet in Salem is,

SIMON BRADSTREET,

Armiger, ex ordine Senatoris, in colonia Massachusettensi ab anno 1630, usque ad annum 1673. Deinde ad annum 1679, Vice-Gubernator. Denique ad annum 1686, ejusdem coloniae, communi et constanti populi suffragio, Gubernator.

Vir, judicio Lynceario preditus : quem nec numma, nec honos allexit. Regis auctoritatem, et populi libertatem, æqua lance libravit. Religione cerdatus, vita innocuus, mundum et vicit, et deseruit,

27 die Martii, A. D. 1697.

Annoq : Guliel : 3^t IX. et Æt. 94.

No. IX.

The following are bills of mortality in Salem, given to the public.

1773.	208.	Small-pox, &c. in town.					Total.	
1788.	under 2 yrs. 47. fr. 2 to 30, 36.					30 to 60, 29.	abo. 60, 23.	135.
1789.	males 62.	fem. 67.	39.	35.	30.	25.	129.	
1790.	106.	90.	67.	61.	34.	34.	196.	
1791.	68.	86.	52.	53.	28.	15.	148.	
1792.	69.	79.	49.	35.	39.	25.	148.	
1793.	70.	77.	53.	37.	37.	20.	147.	
1796.	97.	119.	48.	82.	47.	39.	216.	

No. X.

In the four last years of the East Society, 62 persons died, having been in married life ; and 11, who had been twice in the married state, not included in the foregoing number ; and two besides, who had been three times married. The whole number of deaths, in that term, was 159. Of the 62, who had been in married life, the mean term was 19 years, the highest number being 54 years, and the lowest 7 months. They, who had been twice in marriage, had the mean of 16 years to each marriage, the highest number being 47 years. But the terms of life in marriage, to each, were greatly disproportioned. They, who had been thrice in marriage, had the mean of 10 years, the highest number being 25 years. Of the 19 last marriages, the age, at the time of marriage, was, to one at 15, two at 18, one at 19, one at 20, two at 21, one at 22, four at 23, three at 24, one at 29, one at 30, one at 31, one at 34 years of age. Of these, ten were males.

ERRATA.

Page 151, last line, for *immorral* read *immortal*. P. 213, l. 6 from bottom, for *path* read *part*. P. 227, l. 4 from bottom, for *four* read *seven* (distilleries). P. 241, l. 7 from top, for 1697 read 1677. P. 242, l. 6 from top, for 1729 read 1629. Same page, l. 7 from bottom, for 1729 read 1629.

END OF SIXTH VOLUME.